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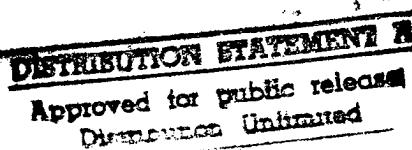
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26 NOVEMBER 1986

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 NOVEMBER 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## 'POLITICAL ASYLUM APPLICANT' ISSUE IN GERMANY SOLVED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 86 p 6

[Article by reporter Jiang Jianguo [3068 1696 0948] in column "Roundup"]

[Text] Bonn 22 Sep--The German Democratic Republic took one vital step forward to help the Federal Republic of Germany solve the "political asylum applicant" problem by making new provisions regarding people in transit. This move serves to overcome an obstacle which has for some time blocked the further development of the two German states' relationship.

This so-called "political asylum applicant" issue refers to a host of aliens swarming into West Germany in every way to seek "asylum," which places on West Germany a heavy burden. Statistics of West Germany's Federal Ministry of the Interior registered an increase in the number of refugees, which reached 72,500 between the beginning of this year and 12 September. Most of them come from areas of social upheavals, and others are from countries with acute racial contradictions and frequent violence. As the findings of the country's newspapers indicate, many of them did not actually suffer from political persecution--they are just seeking shelter from war and chaos. Also, a considerable number, driven by economic hardship, come in hope of improving their lot. Their overwhelming number has made it difficult for the government to tackle. While medical and education problems vex the government, the order of normal life in the small and medium-size towns is disturbed.

Allegedly, most of these "political asylum applicants" buy tickets from the airlines of Soviet Russia or the German Democratic Republic. Taking advantage of their right of passage they enter Berlin, the capital of Democratic Germany, and via West Berlin they enter various parts of West Germany. According to statistics, 55 percent of these applicants enter West Germany through that channel. Thus her "political asylum applicant" issue becomes a common issue of both Germanies. For months, the West German government has time and again appealed to Democratic Germany to take measures to stop aliens who enter West Germany illegally by taking advantage of the right of passage. However, Democratic Germany has insisted that "according to the principle of constitutional law," it can not determine where the foreigners should go.

In order to solve the problem through consultation, the two German states had frequent contacts after summer vacation. In this matter the government and public of West Germany have coordinated closely. The government sent Schaeuble,

minister of the Chancellery, on a secret mission to Democratic Germany to meet with Erich Honecker. Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Party dispatched Egon Bahr to meet Hermann Axen, member of the Socialist Unity Party Politburo. It is reported that both sides at their meeting indicated they would find ways of solving the problem, proceeding from the wishes of actively developing the two German states' friendly relationship. The problem was eventually solved satisfactorily. The resolution published by Democratic Germany was well received by both the political circles and the media in West Germany. People of the diplomatic circles held that that was another example of the two Germanies devoting themselves to setting up good neighbor relations.

Since this year, the two German states have established good trends in developing their relationship. In his 30 January talk Honecker expressed the need to increase dialog and cooperation with West Germany. In February Horst Sindermann, chairman of the People's Chamber, visited West Germany. Since then statesmen from both states have continued to call on one another, while their economic relations have also been developing smoothly. Following last year's record 16.7 billion-mark bilateral trade, the two sides signed a new "labor agreement" in June this year. On the other hand, there have been increased exchange visits. During the first half of this year, 1.71 million West Germans went to Democratic Germany to visit relatives and friends while 980,000 people from Democratic Germany crossed the border to tour West Germany. These figures show an increase over the same period last year. Also, the proposed cultural agreement which had been negotiated over 10 years between the two countries were concluded with the signing of the agreement this year, which was followed by increased athletic and cultural exchanges. Besides, the two sides have also entered into the first pair of sister city relationships. In issues relating to environmental protection and nuclear installation safety, active negotiations are also being engaged in. It is only natural that due to differences in social system and ideology, some contradictions between the two states are inevitable. However, neither the Meissner incident nor the "political asylum applicant" issue which occurred this year has hindered the development of the two countries' relationship. That indicates that in their handling of bilateral relationship issues, both sides had in mind the overall situation relating to "good neighbor relations." Thus they were able to solve some concrete problems. That is without doubt welcomed by the world community.

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## BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SUN YAT-SEN--Guangzhou, 4 Nov (XINHUA)--Dr Sun Yat-sen's subjective socialism should be an inspiration to the socialist practices in China of today, Hu Sheng, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said here today. "Subjective socialism, a primary characteristic of Dr Sun's thinking, enabled him to pursue a policy of cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party in his later years," Hu told an international seminar, the prelude to the nation's activities marking the 120th anniversary of his birth. Hu, who is also the president of China's Sun Yat-sen society, went on, "This subjective socialism, created under China's modern historical conditions, reflects Sun's aspiration to make China powerful and the Chinese people happy." Attending the seminar, the largest of its kind since the founding of New China in 1949, are 139 scholars from Australia, Canada, France, Democratic Germany, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, the United States, China, and Hong Kong. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1319 GMT 4 Nov 86] /9599

CSO: 4000/44

UNITED STATES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

XUN, SNOW TRANSCRIPT FOUND--Xian, November 3 (XINHUA)--A transcript of a talk between Edgar Snow and China's cultural giant Lu Xun (1881-1936) in the 30s has been found by a Chinese scholar in the United States. An Wei, a council member of China's Snow-Strong-Smedley Society, told XINHUA here today he got the transcript from Snow's ex-wife, Helen Foster Snow. "It means a lot to the study of the contemporary Chinese literature and of the communist-led left-wing literary movement in the 30s," he said. The transcript listed nearly 40 questions the Snows asked Lu Xun concerning the movement, modern Chinese writers, their works and criticism on them, and foreign literary works in China. When asked, Lu Xun gave his opinion on the best novelists, poets, prose writers, critics, and left-wing writers. Lu Xun regarded Hu Shi as one of China's best poets, whom he criticized for being a Kuomintang supporter, An Wei said. At that time, An said, the Snows were compiling "Living China," a book giving an introduction to left-wing writers and their works. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1451 GMT 3 Nov 86 OW]

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CSO: 4000/041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYMPORIUM ON ECONOMIC CRIME SUMMARIZED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 5, 8 Sep 86

[Article by Zhao Bingzhi [6392 4426 1807] and Jiang Wei [5637 0251]: "A Summary of the Symposium on 'Reforming the Economic System and Cracking Down on Economic Crime'"]

[5 Sep 86 p 3]

[Text] A symposium on "reforming the economic system and cracking down on economic crime," jointly sponsored by the criminal law research branches of the China Law Society and the Beijing Law Society, was held in Beijing on 2-6 August. The symposium received a total of 70 academic papers. In substance, the academic papers and discussions can be divided into two main categories. One dealt with the overall question of how to strike at economic crime and safeguard the economic reform. It was of an introductory nature. The other dealt with specific questions on judging and sentencing in certain types of economic crimes. Our report will be published in two parts. The following is Part I.

The symposium discussed five major questions about economic crime in general:

1. It discussed the manifestations and characteristics of economic crimes at present.

This question was discussed in many of the academic papers. The manifestations of economic crimes were summarized in three words: They are "many, huge and widespread." Many economic crimes have been committed, and the number is still increasing. Unprecedentedly huge sums of money are involved in economic crimes. And economic crimes are rather widespread, involving many persons in many units and places. On the characteristics of economic crimes, the consensus was that changes have taken place mainly in the principals in criminal cases, ways and means by which crimes are committed, and targets of crimes.

2. It discussed the role and significance of criminal legislation, criminal justice and criminological theories in cracking down on economic crime and safeguarding the reforms of the economic system.

The papers which dealt with this question offered views in three specific areas. First, they put forward a number of legislative suggestion. Some pointed out

the contradictions in criminal legislation by comparing the relationship between the crime and punishment in several types of criminal offenses. Others discussed the relationship between criminal law and civil law in the light of overlapping civil and criminal liabilities. Still others expounded why it is important to have laws for people to follow and why laws must be enforced in the light of coordination between criminal legislation and administration of criminal justice. Second, they suggested measures for strengthening administration of criminal justice to safeguard and accelerate economic reform. Some of the papers noted that some judicial organs failed to hit hard at economic crimes. They suggested that the leading judicial departments should strengthen supervision over judicial interpretation and other specialized judicial functions to make sure that judicial personnel will act strictly according to law; that it is necessary to strengthen the ranks of judicial workers by improving their educational level, professional knowledge and sense of responsibility; and that it is necessary to focus attention on solving the serious and important cases, use the experience gained to work on other cases, and increase efficiency in case-handling as a whole. Third, to give guidance to criminal legislation and criminal justice, it is necessary to strengthen the study of criminological theories, which calls for constant study of the new situations, problems and characteristics to put forward correct and practical new ideas needed in striking at economic crime and safeguarding economic reform. Some papers expounded the necessity, inevitability and significance of establishing the study of economic criminology as a new subject of learning, thus putting forward a topic for academic discussions.

### 3. It discussed ways and policies to deal with economic crimes.

Most of the papers pointed out clearly that under the present socialist conditions in China, the high incidence of economic crimes has its social and ideological roots; that to prevent and fight economic crimes, reliance on the criminal law alone is not enough; and that it is necessary for the entire society to wage a "general war" against economic crime, paying attention to both preventing and fighting crime and making coordinated efforts to plug all kinds of loopholes.

### 4. The question of whether a legal person can become the principal in a criminal case was discussed in depth.

This question was discussed fully or briefly by a considerable number of academic papers. The views they presented were not the same, and some were even directly opposed to each other. It is noteworthy that both the affirmative and the negative sides presented their arguments in depth, not only expounding their points on the basis of criminological theories, but putting even greater stress on explaining them in the light of the social effects of the readjustment of the law. This was a big stride forward from past debates.

### 5. Some problems in dealing with economic crime were brought to attention.

The problem bought up were all based on facts. For example, attention was called to correcting the erroneous tendency to "substitute disciplinary measures or economic sanction for criminal punishment"; a clear distinction must be drawn between what is a crime and what is not and between one crime and

another; and state personnel and people from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries who commit crimes must be dealt with severely.

[8 Sep 86 p 3]

[Text] 1. On the Crime of Fraud

The discussions dealt mainly with the following questions.

First, the handling of those found guilty of using economic contracts to commit fraud was discussed at length.

Some comrades pointed out that considering the injured parties, the means of crime, the sum of money involved and the principal offenders, fraud with the use of economic contracts is different and more harmful than other kinds of swindling. This kind of fraud is aimed mainly at enterprises, institutions and economic organizations. The way it is carried out is complicated, and the sum of money involved is often large or very large. Among the principal offenders are ex-convicts, idlers, people engaged in exchange of products and marketing, and lawless elements from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries. And it is often a joint crime. The comrades discussed the distinction between using economic contracts to commit fraud and normal economic contract disputes. They suggested that a strict distinction should be made on the basis of whether one has the ability to fulfill contract, whether a contract is signed in good faith, whether fraudulent means are used to get a contract signed, whether a contract is signed with the intention to defraud the other party of his money, whether positive effort is made, after failing to fulfill a contract, to take remedial steps or compensate for the loss, and so forth.

On the crime of using economic contracts to commit fraud, opinions differed mainly on two questions: 1) Can there be indirectly intentional cases of this kind of crime? Some comrades held that it is possible. It happens when a person, who signed a contract with the intention to fulfill it, even though he foresaw the objective conditions for fraud, changes his mind and fails to fulfill the contract after all. The offender knows perfectly well the harm which may result if he does not meet his obligations, and he still lets it happen. But some comrades did not agree to this viewpoint. They held that intentional nonfulfillment of a contract is not the same as an intentional crime, because nonfulfillment of contract is a dispute, not a crime, and that when a intentional fraud is committed in the course of fulfilling a contract, it is invariably aimed at unlawful possession of money or property, and once this aim is taken, it is directly intentional. 2) Does this kind of fraud harm a single or dual object? Some comrades held that fraud carried out through economic contracts is different in the way it is committed and what and whom it is aimed at, that it harms not only the owners of public and private property, but more importantly the socialist economic order, and that this kind of fraud should be added as the "crime of economic fraud" to the "crimes of undermining the socialist economic order" in Chapter III, Part II Special Provisions, of the Criminal Law. However, some comrades held that the direct object of this kind of fraud is the ownership of public and private property, and that it cannot include socialist economic order, because a crime's direct object should not be confused with its impact and indirect harm on other things.

Second, on the question of punishments for crimes of fraud.

The main issue was whether the death penalty should be added to the punishments for crimes of fraud. Many of the academic papers discussed this question. It was held that the harmfulness of fraud far exceeds that of theft, and yet theft is punishable with death, while fraud is not. This is legislative error. Therefore, there is a pressing need to change the law and add the death penalty to the crime of fraud. However, some comrades held that because fraud is a crime of brains, and because of China's legislative principle to strictly control the death penalty, it is not advisable to add the death penalty to fraud. Some comrades suggested that fines, confiscation of property and other property penalties should be added to the punishments for fraud. Some comrades held that in handling fraud cases, attention should be paid to the question of combined punishment for more than one crime.

Third, the question of distinguishing crime from noncrime and one crime from another crime in the handling of fraud cases was discussed.

It was pointed out than attention should be paid to drawing the following distinctions: distinction between borrowing and fraud in the name of borrowing; distinction between using economic contracts to commit fraud and economic contract disputes; distinction between fraud and going into hiding to avoid creditors after failure of a business; distinction between the crime of fraud and ordinary illegal deceptive acts; and distinction between the crime of fraud and the crimes of speculation, corruption, manufacturing and selling bogus medicines, cheating and bluffing, sorcerers or witches who use superstition to engage in swindling.

## 2. On the Crime of Corruption

The discussions centered on two questions.

First, the question of making misappropriation of public funds punishable as a crime of corruption.

Quite a number of comrades pointed out that anyone who misappropriates public funds is endangering the reform and the four modernizations drive. Therefore, the "answer to questions on the actual application of laws in the handling of cases of economic crimes at present (for trial implementation)" (hereafter referred to as "answers"), issued by the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procurate on 8 July 1985, made it clear that misappropriation of public funds should be punished as a crime of corruption, and it is correct and necessary. Some comrades disagreed. They held that misappropriation of public funds could be any of a number of cases. It could be a violation of the law or discipline, or dereliction of duty, or even a case of taking bribes and so forth. Only when it meets all the criteria to constitute a crime of corruption, should it be punished as a crime of corruption.

The comrades also discussed the principle governing punishments for corruption cases involving misappropriation of public funds. Many comrades held that this kind of corruption is different from other types of corruption such as direct

stealing, cheating and embezzlement with regard to their culpable characteristics and degree of harmfulness. Therefore, they should be given different sentences. Corruption cases involving misappropriation of public funds should generally be given a lesser or reduced punishment. Some suggested that even the most serious cases should only be punished by imprisonment, from 10 years to life, and no death penalty should be imposed. Some comrades also suggested that the stipulations in the "answers" concerning corruption by misappropriation should not be retroactive, and that prosecution should follow the principle of "nonretroaction and leniency."

Second, the question of how much money makes corruption a criminal offense.

Some comrades pointed out that according to the "answers" and in judicial practice, the amount of money, based on which a corruption conviction can be made, is much larger than that in a theft case. This is contrary to the legislative spirit that corruption should be severely dealt with, nor does it help the judiciary deal with corruption effectively. Therefore, the amount of money involved in corruption and theft convictions should be brought roughly to the same level. Some comrades held that the amount constituting a crime of corruption should at least be comparable to what constitutes an inside stealing job by a person in a factory or enterprise. Some comrades pointed out that the disparity is not that the amount is set too high for a corruption conviction, but too low for a theft conviction.

### 3. On the Crime of Bribery

The following six questions were discussed.

First, some of the papers discussed the characteristics and manifestations of crimes of bribery at present, analyzed the causes, and suggested measures and plans for coordinated efforts to deal with the problem.

Second, the definition of bribery. The papers which discussed this question still adhered to the three different views on bribery held by the criminal law circles in China in recent years. Some held that bribery refers only to articles of property; others held that bribery is limited to articles of property and other tangible benefits; still others held that bribery includes articles of property and property interests as well as illegitimate nonproperty interests.

Third, the question of principal offenders in bribe-taking cases. 1) Some comrades pointed out that according to the criminal policy of the past few years, those who may be charged as the principal offenders in bribe-taking cases should include, in addition to state personnel, "other staff members and workers of state organs and personnel of collective economic organizations," and that this tallies more closely with the realities in recent bribe-taking cases. 2) Can retired state personnel become principal bribe-takers? There were both affirmative and negative views. 3) Can spouses and other family members of state personnel become principal bribe-takers? There were also both affirmative and negative views in the academic papers and discussions. 4) Some comrades discussed cases in which state personnel and their family members are charged with bribe-taking jointly.

Fourth, the meaning of "taking advantage of one's office." The academic papers which discussed this question pointed out that the meaning of "taking advantage of one's office" is broader than "taking advantage of one's powers," and that it should mean "taking advantage of one's powers and work." "Taking advantage of one's work" refers to the advantage of the conveniences and opportunities in work one enjoys by virtue of one's office. Opinions also differed as to whether "taking advantage of one's office" should include "taking advantage of the influence of the office one held in the past" and "taking advantage of some other person's office."

Fifth, the crime of offering bribes. 1) Some of the papers pointed out that the offering of bribes for "official purposes" harms the interests of the state and the people as a whole, that it is an economic crime more harmful to society than ordinary bribery, and that the personnel in charge and directly responsible should be punished according to the crime of offering bribes. 2) Some pointed out that the "Decision Regarding the Severe Punishment of Criminals Who Seriously Undermine the Economy" (hereafter referred to as "decision") of the NPC Standing Committee in 1982 increased the punishment for the crime of accepting bribes. In order to effectively check the crimes of bribery, it is necessary to increase the punishment for the crime of offering or introducing bribes accordingly.

Sixth, some comrades pointed out that the stipulation in the "decision" that the crime of accepting bribes should be handled according to the crime of corruption is inappropriate. The crime of accepting bribes is a crime of dereliction of duty. If it is punished as a crime of corruption, which is determined according to the amount of money or property received by the offender, it is inevitable that this serious crime will be given a light punishment.

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CSO: 4005/037

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIN ZHUN ON CRACKING DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES

Beijing LIAOWANG OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 36, 8 Sep 86 pp 16-17

[Article by Zhang Sutang [1728 1372 1016] and Zhuang Jianmin [5445 1696 3046]: "Lin Zhun, vice president of the Supreme People's Court, Talks on Cracking Down in Economic Crimes and Insuring Smooth Progress of Reform"]

[Excerpt] As the reforms develop in depth, is there anything new about the circumstances and characteristics of economic crimes at present? What has been done by the people's courts at various levels to deal severely with serious criminal activities in the economic field and safeguard the reform of the economic system? What should attention be paid to from now on in dealing severely with economic crimes? Recently we paid a visit to Lin Zhun, vice president of the Supreme People's Court.

Breakthroughs

Lin Zhun said: Deng Xiaoping pointed out recently that we must correct the unhealthy trends and crack down on economic crimes as long as we pursue the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the national economy. Therefore, we must understand the protracted, complex and arduous nature of the struggle against economic crimes and must not in the slightest degree slacken our vigilance.

Lin Zhun said: Since the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the national economy in 1979, some criminals have taken advantage of loopholes in the reforms to brazenly engage in criminal activities in the economic field and seriously threatened the smooth progress of reform. For some time, we failed to hit hard at serious economic crimes. Although cases of economic crimes were brought to court, some criminals did not get the punishment they deserved. In view of the situation, the Sixth NPC Standing Committee discussed the question of severely dealing with serious economic crimes at its 12th and 14th sessions. People's procuratorates at various levels prosecuted a number of major cases in good time according to law. As a result, the number of cases of serious economic crimes, including major cases and cases involving large sums of money, accepted by people's courts at all levels has increased by a rather large margin. In the first half of this year, people's courts at various levels throughout the country accepted a total of more than 35,000 economic criminal cases, a 56.1 percent increase over the

same period last year, and tried and passed judgment on more than 31,000 cases, a 39.6 percent increase over the same period a year ago.

Lin Zhun said: By paying special attention to handling the major cases, the people's courts have gained momentum in the handling of economic criminal cases as a whole. Since August 1985, a card file has been set up to register the major cases which caused especially serious damage and created extremely bad impressions among the people. By the end of July this year, more than 150 such cases had been registered. The Supreme People's Court has urged the courts concerned to pay special attention to the handling of these cases. Thus far, 36 cases have been tried, including the case of divulging state secrets and accepting bribes by Zhang Changsheng [1728 1603 0524] and Ye Zhifeng [5509 0037 2800], the case of speculation and profiteering by Lin Taosen [2651 2711 2773], former director of the organization department of the Hainan Administrative District CPC Committee, the case of accepting bribes by Yu Tiemin [0151 6993 3046], former deputy director of the general office of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, and so forth. Sentences have been passed on 102 persons, including 14 death sentences, 7 suspended death sentences and 10 life sentences.

These examples show that significant breakthroughs have been achieved by people's courts at various levels in dealing severely with serious economic crimes according to law, especially in handling major cases. Lin Zhun described some important experiences gained by people's courts at various levels in the course of handling cases. He said:

First, it is necessary to adhere to the principle that laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be punished. In the past, even serious cases of malfeasance were not dealt with seriously, and criminal cases were not investigated and prosecuted promptly. Recently some courts have dealt severely with some criminals for serious dereliction of duty. For example, a set of coal-mining machinery imported from the United States by the Jishigou coal mine in Gujiao District, Taiyuan, Shanxi was destroyed by fire, causing a loss of nearly 6 million yuan to the state. In addition to punishing those who directly caused the fire, the leading cadres guilty of serious neglect of their duties were also prosecuted criminally according to law. In the meantime, we have also sternly handled a number of serious economic criminal cases involving party, government and military organizations, social groups, enterprises and institutions. The persons in charge of these organizations who were guilty of directly organizing, plotting and directing the criminal activities, even though they did not fatten their own pockets in the process, were also prosecuted according to law.

Second, it is necessary to insure "accuracy" in handling cases. Some economic cases are rather complicated. We call on law-enforcement personnel to be prudent and wait for a while when things cannot be seen clearly for the moment. We must not rush headlong into action as we did in launching movements in the past. The stress is not on speed, progress or momentum, but on acting strictly according to law and judicial procedures, making sure that there will be no wrong judgment. We demand that cases be handled in such a way that they will withstand the test of history. According to the experiences of courts in various places, it is necessary to make five distinctions in handling cases: distinction between

mistakes caused by a lack of experience in reform and taking advantage of loopholes in reform to engage in criminal activities, distinction between mistakes caused by a lack of clear-cut policy stipulations and knowingly violating the law, distinction between violation of administrative regulations and violation of the criminal law, distinction between unhealthy tendencies and economic crimes, and distinction between bureaucratic problems and criminal neglect of duty. In the handling of criminal cases, the courts in various places have insisted on getting to the bottom of the basic facts and basing decisions on solid evidence, or they would not pass judgment. In passing judgment, everyone is equal before the law, whoever he is and whatever his rank may be.

Third, it is necessary to conscientiously follow the policy of combining punishment with leniency. The chief culprit of a criminal gang, the principal offender in a joint crime, recidivists, or criminals with previous convictions and misdeeds who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition should be punished severely according to law. First offenders and casual offenders who give themselves up, confess their crimes, give up their ill-gotten gains or expose other criminals, and render useful services should be given lighter or reduced sentences according to law. For example, a former deputy section chief of the Guangzhou high-voltage electrical equipment plant obtained more than 115,000 yuan in graft and took a bribe of more than 1,300 yuan, and the huge amount made the crime punishable by death. However, when he heard the propaganda on the legal system, he voluntarily surrendered himself with all the money he had gotten illegally. He thoroughly confessed his guilt and exposed crimes committed by others, showing sincere repentance and willingness to make contributions. The court reduced his sentence according to law, and he was given a 3 year sentence with a 5 year suspension. The case produced a great impact. Within 12 days after the judgment, 30 people in Guangzhou gave themselves up, confessed their crimes and returned more than 172,000 yuan they had received illegally.

#### Studying the New Circumstances, Solving the Major Cases

When we asked what are the new circumstances and characteristics of economic crimes at present, Lin Zhun pointed to the many case files on his desk and said that from the cases tried and records kept by the courts at various levels, it can be seen that the more outstanding problems at present are:

The crime of fraud is very rampant. Some criminals, displaying signboards of "centers and "companies" of all descriptions, are engaged in speculation. Some, posing as Hong Kong businessmen or overseas Chinese, bluff and swindle everywhere. Fallen to the sycophancy of criminals, some local leaders who are not vigilant enough are tricked into signing notes and contracts recklessly. Some criminals are extremely cunning and unscrupulous, and the amount of money swindled by them is often astonishingly huge.

Serious crimes are committed by organizations, groups, enterprises and institutions. In 1985, customs in various places intercepted more than 2,490 smuggling cases involving various organizations, groups, enterprises and institutions. The contraband goods were valued at more than 630 million yuan.

These cases accounted for 60 percent of the total number of smuggling cases discovered by the customs, but their value accounted for 90 percent of the total value of all cases. According to statistics of the Tianjin municipal courts, 11 fraud and speculation cases accepted by the courts in the first half of this years were committed by organizations, enterprises and institutions, involving a total of more than 69 million yuan. Crimes of this category often cause even greater losses to the state.

Serious crimes are committed by trade departments. Some crimes have developed from unhealthy trends in certain trades. For example, Ma Xueliang [7456 1331 0081], former director of the Beijing municipal public utilities bureau, and others only tried to get more cash awards at first, but gradually they began to deal in illegal "contracts" and use their power to engage in blackmailing and extortion under all sorts of pretexts. For some time, rather serious illegal and criminal activities were also noted in banking establishments and postal and telecommunications departments, like using loan funds to make a personal profit, graft, embezzlement of reserve funds, illegal opening, concealing or destruction of mail and stealing of money and property.

A small number of individual households have embarked on the criminal road of swindling, stealing, gambling and hooliganism in violation of state policies, and decrees.

A large portion of the corruption cases involves misappropriation of public funds for personal use or to in illegal activities. According to a survey in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, some state personnel, staff members of collective economic organizations and other people handling public funds and property were found to have misappropriated public funds for personal use. Cases in which public funds are used for personal purposes and not repaid over long periods of time, or used to carry out illegal activities account for more than 50 percent of all corruption cases. In the past, criminals used most of the money they embezzled for personal squandering sprees. Now, many use public funds to engage in smuggling, speculation, gambling and other illegal activities.

Lin Zhun took out a statistical report. It showed that the major cases currently being handled by the Supreme People's Court involve 373 defendants, among them are 120 state cadres. Lin Zhun said seriously: These economic cases involving state cadres are characterized by their seriousness and the important positions of the defendants. Often there are cases within cases, people behind the defendants, a network of special connections and a protective shield. Unless the cases are investigated seriously and thoroughly, tearing open the special connections and protective shield, it is likely that major cases will be turned into minor ones, or wind up by punishing the principal offenders and letting go of the others, or even punishing the minor offenders and ignoring the chief culprits. How these major cases are handled has a direct bearing on the interests of the state. The handling of a few major cases in Shanghai has evoked strong repercussions among the masses. In the past, people were skeptical, thinking that the courts did not have the courage to handle cases involving leading cadres. But we did. And the masses are praising the courts for living up to their promises and enforcing the law strictly. A good job has been done with remarkable results in rectifying party style, changing social conduct, upholding the sanctity of the legal systems and increasing the prestige of the party and state.

### Fostering the Sense of Law Among All the People

Lin Zhun, 59, served in the internal affairs department of the Central People's Government in the early 1950's, and later he served as researcher, deputy presiding judge of the criminal court, and head of the research office, of the Supreme People's Court. He is now a member of the Supreme People's Court's Judicial Committee and honorary president of the Chinese Society of Forensic Medicine. He has accumulated much experience from decades of court work. On the question of what we should pay attention to from here on, he said: "The question of first importance is to foster a sense of law among all citizens, and the vast numbers of cadres in particular should take the lead in studying and observing the law."

12802/12951  
CSO: 4005/044

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Qing Zhichun [1987 1807 4783]: "The Meaning of Academic Freedom"; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editor's note: Science and democracy make up a crucial part of the socialist spiritual civilization and are preconditions for success in whatever we do. Science and democracy are so closely related that they are inseparable; without democracy, science cannot flourish. The need to strengthen democracy is particularly urgent in the world of scientific research today. How do we bring about academic democracy? This involves many issues in our day-to-day work, which have engendered endless discussion among comrades in the scientific and technical circles. Our reporter interviewed several well-known scholars in Shanghai and their comments will be published in succession. We intend to make their views the opening salvo in a special debate to appear on page 3. Comrades in science and technology are welcome to take part in the debate. Please address comments to our science and education department.

Academic democracy and academic freedom are the two wheels that drive scientific progress. With these two "pulleys," we can achieve scientific progress much more easily. Academic democracy should have two components: one, creating a social environment free from interference and a democratic harmonious atmosphere, both indispensable to scientific progress; two, handling the conflicts inherent in the functioning of science with democratic methods. For the moment, the latter has even greater practical significance.

A democratic tradition cannot spring up in academic circles overnight but requires a long-term effort. In our workaday world, this means that we have a lot of work to do and many outdated ideas to rethink. For instance:

Science honors an authority and pays tribute to achievements and contributions, but it does not worship an authority blindly. People respect an authority because of his outstanding contributions, which put him head and shoulder above his contemporaries and profoundly influence later developments. But if people fail to realize the time specificity of his achievements and the limits on his talents and are so awed by his teaching, which they consider the sublime truth, that they dare not seek further breakthroughs, then their

respect becomes a barrier to scientific advance. We must encourage young people to do better than their forebears. As elders, we must be receptive to challenges from young people. By overemphasizing the role and influence of an authority, we inevitably snuff out the spirit of free discussion.

We frequently stress the function played by academic leaders, and rightly so. However, academic leaders should not be designated, much less self-appointed. And they certainly should not enjoy life tenure. Instead of demanding that his students and collaborators simple-mindedly adopt and defend his intellectual ideas, an academic leader should encourage them to innovate. Instead of drilling them in the skill of carrying out routine work, a teacher should devote more attention to training his students' creative ability. An academic leader must be good at discovering fresh viewpoints, nurturing young talent, invigorating intellectual thought, and igniting academic debates. But he must guard against abstractly criticizing a scientist's personal prejudice and stubbornness. While prejudice and stubbornness may be the wellspring of conservatism, they sometimes serve as the driving force behind a tenacious inquiry. He must go out of his way to defend the original ideas of a minority in any debate and should not subscribe to the principle of "democratic centralism." Nor is it appropriate to impose the usual "arbitration by authority."

Arguments in scientific circles should be resolved by scientists themselves through scientific experiments and free discussion. It is detrimental to academic democracy for one to seek sympathy and support from outside the academic circles or to fall back on "leaders' instructions" or "public opinion" as a crutch. A serious scientist invariably puts the pursuit of truth above the pursuit of fame and fortune, the pursuit of academic value above the pursuit of publicity. And, needless to say, there are numerous unhealthy things in this respect which must be overcome. Only thus can we foster academic democracy and encourage the development of scientific expertise.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WEAKNESSES OF CHINA'S POLITICAL STRUCTURE DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 21 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] According to a report of the ZUZHI RENSHI XINXI BAO [ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL INFORMATION], a CPPCC member of Anhui Province maintains that it is now imperative to overcome and eliminate the things that are "too much, too many and too confusing" in the political system.

First, we must make up our minds to put an end to bureaucrats wielding "too much" power. Using one's power to seek personal gain has now become the rule than exception, and this is largely the result of too much power for "officials." Therefore, it is imperative to greatly increase the powers of the people's congresses so that they can become organs of power in reality as well as in name and really take up the power and responsibility to elect and replace public officials.

Second, we must make up our minds to eliminate the things that have become "too many." According to a survey, there are too many "superfluous officials," redundant personnel, organizations, documents, meetings and concurrent and deputy posts in China. Only when excessive "official powers" are curtailed, will it be possible to determine the size of an organization and its staff on the basis of its functions. The setup of an organization must be based on its functions, and its functions must be based on its work and tasks.

Third, we must make up our minds to straighten out the "confusions." Confusions are manifest in many ways. For example, organizationally the party takes the place of the government, and in functions and powers, there are those who have functions but no power and those who have power but no responsibility.

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INCREASE IN CASES OF ILLEGAL DETENTION REPORTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 16 Sep 86 p 1

[By reporter Zhang Shuwen [1728 2579 2429]: "Attention: Cases of Illegal Detention Are Increasing!; Procuratorates at all Levels Must Vigorously Investigate and Properly Dispose of Such Cases"]

[Text] Situation reports from relevant quarters have revealed that the rate of occurrence of cases of illegal detentions during recent years are increasing constantly throughout the nation. In the first half of this year alone, 949 cases of illegal detention have been taken up by the procuratorates of the country for investigation, which is an increase of 96.5 percent over such cases during the corresponding period of last year.

Most of these cases involved joint offences, committed with great cruelty and in especially evil circumstances, having serious consequences. In the first half of this year, as many as over 140 persons suffered death or serious injury due to illegal detention. The following are the three main ways in which such crimes of illegal detention occur:

First, cadres at the basic level abusing the powers of office in the indiscriminate arrest of people. These cases constitute over 31 percent of all cases of illegal detention, according to an investigation covering 11 provinces and autonomous regions. Certain cadres at the basic level, when called upon to settle disputes between people, or when helping administrative or judicial organs in the investigation of certain illegal activities, will rely on the powers of office to exercise undue pressure on people.

Second, acts brought about as a consequence of economic disputes or disputes among the people. These types frequently involve default on payments or on contract obligations, matrimonial disputes, or disputes over houses or land, as a consequence of which people are illegally arrested as hostages until the payment or the goods in question are forthcoming, or people are arbitrarily arrested or beaten, because certain families can exercise power and influence.

Third, some cadres and police personnel in charge of public security, when straightening out certain illegal activities, or during investigations, are seriously possessed of a "special privilege" mentality, are rude and unreasonable in their attitudes and will easily resort to beating and incarcerating people.

The reason why the rate of illegal detentions has increased is due to hazy concepts concerning the legal system held by certain people--they don't know the law and don't conduct affairs according to law--but in addition it is also to the fact that the judicial organs attach too little weight to the handling of cases of illegal detention. A considerable proportion of these cases involve actions by state personnel. It is they who have all authority and power. They are closely interrelated and protect each other firmly, one level for the other, which makes investigations by the judicial authorities very difficult, so that many cases drag on forever without conclusion, or end in very lenient sentences. It still remains, therefore, a major task for procuratorates at all levels to put an end to the present situation and intensify the prosecution of cases of illegal detention.

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CSO: 4005/080

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG JOURNAL REVIEWS COMPLEXITIES, AMBIGUITIES OF REFORM

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 15 Aug 86 pp 3, 4

[Article by Andreas Kohlschuetter: "From Marx and Mao to Market and Mammon--Refreshing But Worrisome: China's Reformers Throwing Many Old Truths Overboard"]

[Text] Almost 10 years have gone by since Mao's death on September 1976; but anyone traveling through China today might think he has been dead 100 years. That is how embarrassing the silence surrounding the great "chairman and helmsman" has become. That is how much the pulse beat and the direction of this country has changed in the spirit of reformist communist modernization and liberalization--that "second revolution" led by Deng Xiaoping which is affecting and changing all spheres of life in China in a more total and far-reaching way than the seizure of power in 1949. In the words of Winston Lord, the American ambassador to Beijing, it is like a "titanic wave of change."

To be sure, the unshaken belief in Mao still survives. "He showed the people how to shake off the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism; he changed the face of China and guided our destiny into new channels." The faith in Mao is still there particularly inside the party half of whose 42 million members are "children of the cultural revolution."

Such reverent quotations adorn the pedestals of the countless huge monuments, spread throughout the country, which show Mao, his right hand raised in a gesture of greeting, tirelessly marching forward into the future which has long since been left behind. The future belongs to those who, like a 23 year-old party activist, have this to say about Mao: "He is sleeping; so let him sleep."

Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that the Chinese will ever remove Mao's body from its mausoleum on the Square of Heavenly Peace in Beijing. A robust, show-trial-style purge à la Soviet Union is not the way they operate. Mao may be harshly reassessed day in and day out; but it is being done by indirection, not in frontal attacks. The dogmatic, visionary "Mao Zedong way of thinking" is being connected to the pragmatic power grid of reform communism which operates on the principle of "truth deduced from the facts" and thus opened up to revision. In other words, it is a process of de-

Maoization, which actually includes Mao. His successors stand him on his head without severing their links to him. It is a break without a rupture which saves the urge to retain power, the ancient Chinese need for harmony as well as face.

It is just as unlikely that China will dramatically turn away from Marxism anytime soon. Its "fundamental principles" are affirmed even if the Deng Xiaoping team has little to offer on that score--because the fact is that China's present goal is not to revolutionize capitalism but to build growth and welfare socialism. And that is a subject on which Marx has little to say. As a consequence, the watchword is to develop Marxism "onward creatively," even to the extent of drawing on capitalist wisdom and capitalist practices and of throwing overboard everything which turns out to be "outmoded in real life." This includes programs which were part of the "fundamental principles" only yesterday, e.g. the categorical rejection of a goods economy, market controls and private enterprise. No to Marx and the dictates of his holy writ, but yes to "living," i.e. pliable Marxism made in China--that is the new trend.

The suddenness which relegates one-time "truths," values, goals and attitudes to the ways of the past is refreshing but also worrisome. What does have continuity in a China whose masses turn to the exact opposite of yesterday's values so easily and flexibly, without thinking but always obeying the orders from above--masses which always cheer and applaud the Beijing rulers, whoever they may be ?

Following the upheavals of the past 40 years, Chinese communism and the one-billion population of China are once more undergoing drastic change--from Marx and Mao to market and Mammon; from the class struggle to economic competition; from collectivization and communist asceticism to material incentives and personal achievement; from permanent revolutionary unrest to stability and rule of law; from isolation and autarky to cosmopolitanism and interdependence; from the primacy of politics and ideology to the primacy of economics and expertise; from the inapplicability of "pure doctrine" to efficiency socialism based on less planning, less party control and more private initiative--a socialism which speaks out in favor of individual enrichment, calling it a "primary link in the chain" and a motor of social progress and change. The first thing which strikes an observer and gives an indication of the "wave of change" is the change of scenery. The Great Hall of the People in Beijing is being taken over by commercial advertising. Even here, in this revolutionary Maoist sanctuary, advertising, an activity condemned as a capitalist aberration ever since 1949, has come to be accepted. Thousands of advertising, public relations and marketing experts from all over the Third World will be holding a mammoth congress here in 1987--led by the PRC itself, this backward developing nation with annual per capita income of just over \$300 but with an advertising budget which rises by 50 percent each year. Which happens to be a world record!

Since 1978, no parades, political rallies or propaganda orgies have been taking place on Shanghai's Square of the People. This goes back to the historic reform resolutions of December of that year adopted by the CPC, shifting the focus of the party "from the class struggle to modernization." The place of honor from which the party leaders once observed the massive communist demonstrations is empty; it looks grey and mildewed. It is an historical relic just like the spectator gallery of the colonial race course directly behind it. Today, the image of the desolate square is enlivened and dominated by huge billboards advertising elevators, auto tires, bee-blossom soap, "Red Lantern" brand radio and video recorders and vitamins. Where has the political material gone? Wedged in among the advertising posters, an appeal on behalf of the "fatherland" can still be seen, complete with the text of the national anthem: "he who does not want to be a slave, let him rise up/let us build a new Great Wall of flesh and blood/ the Chinese nation is in greatest danger."

Money, a rise in the standard of living and the stimulation of consumer wants (the washing machines have names such as "White Orchid," "Narcissus" and "Seagull" and the actors in the TV commercials are called "Peony" and "Peacock Butterfly")--these are the primary themes of the new "socialism in the Chinese manner." And this is where the break has been made with the egalitarian, monastic vision of communism espoused by Mao. The search for the selfless, community-oriented "new man" has been called off. The "ego," i.e. self-realization, satisfaction of material wants and the pursuit of individual happiness has moved to the front and the "we" has been relegated to the back.

"Get rich"--that is the order being issued to one and all, particularly to the party cadres (but not the professional cadres) who should be setting a "good example" and "take the lead in getting rich," according to the PEOPLE'S DAILY. In their efforts to bring in new blood and to get rid of the opponents of reform, the party and the CYL have been trying to get the nouveaux riches to join. In the countryside, the CYL is hoping to increase the membership of well-to-do peasants from the present 10 percent to 30 percent. Even today, some chapters in the provinces are only admitting children of high-earning families.

The chase after money and affluence is on. Foreigners are being made to pay in hard currency every step of the way. For their airplane tickets and hotel and restaurant bills they pay twice as much as the Chinese. For a two-room office in Beijing, Western businessmen must pay DM 170,000 or twice as much as in New York. There is a daily struggle against the local hard currency sharks who will resort to any trick to get what they want, e.g. increased road taxes; an unexpected 70-percent rise in rent or a previously unannounced twofold rise in the salaries of their Chinese staff. State abortion clinics in the Shenzhen free trade area have just now begun advertising their services for hard currency in neighboring Hongkong--on a round-the-clock basis up to the eighth month of pregnancy. Anyone who interviews a party secretary

in Yunnan over a cup of green tea and dried fruit or a nouveau riche peasant in Sichuan may expect to receive a bill from his "host" for having provided food and drink.

Even among themselves, the Chinese, newly inspired by the profit motive, are sharp and tough when it comes to figures. Marriage ads tend to focus on information relating directly or indirectly to earnings and financial assets, e.g. "must not support parents." A military newspaper reports that soldiers, getting a miserable 14 yuan (the equivalent of DM 8.50) per month while workers earn about 100 yuan, have no chance of finding a girlfriend. Even non-commissioned officers cannot afford the 2,000-yuan engagement presents being asked for in the prospering agricultural regions without taking out a loan. More and more frequently, farm girls are asking for furniture and color television sets in exchange for saying yes to marriage. And the local authorities in the northern coal mining region of Dalong report a rising tide of letters of women looking for husbands among the workers there who used to be known as dirty and poor but who now earn 200 yuan and are in a position to afford the required home furnishings.

Sewing machine, washing machine, refrigerator and color television set-- those are the "big four," the symbols of prosperity the price and name of which every Chinese knows by heart. On a recent damp night, thousands of people had gathered in front of the industrial exhibition hall in Shanghai, a gingerbread-style building which once housed the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Palace. They slept on bamboo mats on the street and would not even let a tropical downpour drive them away. Many of them had been waiting for 4 days and 4 nights for the opening of a refrigerator exhibit presenting the highest-quality Chinese products. 10,000 refrigerators were sold on the first day on a first-come, first-served basis. Many came too late and in vain. The "Snowflower" and "Faithful Companion" brands were in particular demand. Either model costs as much as a Chinese factory worker earns in 1½ years, including premiums.

The trend in the direction of privatization and individualization is gathering momentum. Opinion polls conducted in high schools by Chinese social scientists are finding that the students are less interested in society, ideology and politics. When asked about the goal and motivation for their studies, only 27 of the 883 students interviewed (or about three percent) answered "communism" or "to serve the people." What they are interested in instead is to increase their personal knowledge, to shape their own future, to promote modernization and improve the standard of living. And the students are not the only ones who feel this way. They are joined by those who were injured and disillusioned by the cultural revolution; who were led astray by Mao's "false and deceitful Marxism," as the saying goes nowadays and now feel betrayed. They are also joined by the new generation of only children, i.e. of solitary fighters pampered by their parents and oriented toward personal success. No wonder that 80 students at Beijing University have signed up for an advanced special cadre course on capitalist economics

but only eight for a course on Marxist economics. No wonder either that Cassandras are speaking up, warning of infiltration by way of the "poison of capitalism."

Chen Yun, the orthodox Marxist in the party leadership, for example, is attacking "some people" who "are forgetting socialist and communist ideals," who are "lured by money alone" and solely wish "to satisfy their private interests." Or as President Li Xiannian put it in his New Year's message this year: "We must make every effort to resist the temptation to place the individual and money above everything else and to deify foreign products." Even Deng Xiaoping, in a sudden show of bad conscience and concern about his own courageous spirit, had this to say not so long ago: "We must not under any circumstances allow our young people to become prisoners of capitalist ideology. If there were no discipline and no ideals any longer, life would be as chaotic as it was in old China. How could our revolution and our buildup be successful under such circumstances ?"

But all this amounts to no more than heckling. Chinese propaganda does not condemn the pursuit of individual happiness; it supports it. The official news agency reports without any qualification that the students of Shanghai prefer to spend their leisure hours in hobby clubs for calligraphy, for cutting seals, collecting stamps and ink drawing rather than in discussion groups with workers and soldiers. The many Chinese married couples which break up because of the working wife's resistance to doing housework are not advised by the newspapers to maintain discipline and so to overcome their problems but to resort to the more conventional, "bourgeois" solution of hiring a servant girl from the country. The movie "Wild Mountains," which finally received a prize after some hesitation, deals with the existential conflict of two peasant couples. One of the partners of each couple is dissatisfied with the wretched country life. The movie resolves the problem by having the two couples change partners, i.e. everyone concerned should attain happiness by doing it his or her way; everyone should live his or her own life.

In the government-controlled media, individual protest and individual judgment are systematically supported as is the emancipation of children from their parents and the extended family. Subservient conformism and intellectual faith in authority as well as unthinking political labeling and repetition by rote are chastised. The message is clear: every authority, be it parental, professional, ideological or governmental, must be questioned and should not be accepted blindly and unquestioningly.

Role models and ideals are being exchanged. The selfless, brave soldier, "that small rust-free screw in the service of the party" has had his day as a national hero. Today, there is no market for blameless heroism in China. In the aftermath of the cultural revolution and Mao, a more sober generation of young people is asking questions which have nothing at all to do with heroics, e.g. what is happiness ? what is the meaning of life ? can there be friendship in a setting of competitive struggle ? is it worth

a medical student's while to risk his own life in order to save an old peasant who has fallen into a cess pool ? These were the topics discussed in the great youth debates of 1982 and 1983 when the privatization of values and life styles was already in full swing.

This was the great moment of 28 year-old Zhang Haidi, the perhaps last of the centrally-controlled hero figures whose story was the subject of mass propaganda campaigns throughout China. Paralyzed, chained to a wheelchair, apolitical, eager to learn and a man of many talents (medicine, foreign languages, painting and music); ready to give of himself but not to make the ultimate sacrifice like the brave soldier Lei Feng; not ready to surrender his clearly defined self-awareness and existential independence; able to say: "I am who I am." Still, even Zhang Haidi was too good, too perfect and too noble to be true in the eyes of skeptical post-cultural revolutionaries.

By now, people no longer talk about Zhang Haidi. Every province is coming up with its own type of heroes and these heroes are coming closer and closer to the realities of everyday life. "We do not really have any heroes any more," a very young journalist at the Shanghai WORLD ECONOMIC HERALD says. "There are just some people who are entitled to more respect than others." In Yunnan, for example, it is the director of an ink factory who continues to do her job and to make the right economic decisions despite the fact that she has breast cancer. At the somber stone barracks of the PEOPLE'S DAILY in Beijing, Fan Rungkang, the paper's deputy editor-in-chief, tells me of the role model selected by the party organ. It was Chang Ye Shi, the manager of the "Great Wall" raincoat and windbreaker factory (who has since died of cancer) who correctly analyzed the market, who developed the right product at the right time and so saved the company from certain bankruptcy.

Reform China is better off. It has the revolution behind it as well as the barbaric cultural revolution with its one million dead, the 30 million who were persecuted and oppressed and the 100 million who were affected by it. China has also left the "new man" behind it--as well as Mao and old Karl Marx.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CADRES' APPREHENSION OF MANAGERS SLOWS ECONOMIC REFORMS

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 18 Aug 86 p 20

[Article by Erhard Louven, staff member of Institute for Asian Affairs, Hamburg: "Competition for Cadres--Party Elite Sees Own Position Threatened by Power of Managers"]

[Text] The Kraftwerk Union (KWW) representatives were unable to hide their disappointment. They had just been told that the DM 4-5 billion nuclear power deal they had been working on for some time was not going to become part of the PRC's seventh 5-year plan to run from 1986 to 1990. In Suan, 130 kilometers west of Shanghai, KWW had hoped to build two nuclear power plants with 1000-megawatt pressurized water reactors.

That was last March--and it was reminiscent of 1980 and 1981 when China was getting ready to modernize its economy once before. Then as now, the end result was that the funds for the projected programs were not available. But there was also a lack of qualified Chinese personnel which might have been able to integrate the equipment imported from the West into the Chinese production process. And for another thing, there were problems in transportation and the supply of energy.

The events then and now are an indication of some of the fundamental problems of Chinese economic policy which may in fact be insoluble and may also stand in the way of rapid development. Last spring, when the Chinese leadership debated the concrete implementation of the 7th 5-year plan, the discussions turned out to be extremely time-consuming because there is no consensus regarding long-range, reasonably detailed development strategy. Pragmatic reformers belonging to the camp of Deng Xiaoping and Minister President Zhao Ziyang who would like to see the economy run increasingly according to the rules of the marketplace are opposed by a group partial to a Soviet-style planned economy led by political economist Chen Yun.

In farming, the production responsibility system, i.e. the return to the responsibility of farm families or groups of families for their own output, has been a real success within a relatively short period of time. Lively construction activity in the countryside and the fact that the farmers now have more durable consumer goods are visible proof of this development.

But organizational reforms in industry have led to confusion and in some instances even to chaos. The redistribution of responsibilities for some investments in provinces and large factories has resulted in investment patterns which are now being criticized. In many places, preference was given to projects of the processing industry which required little construction time and held the promise of high earnings and also to the construction of representational buildings that were not urgently needed. Energy and transportation projects as well as those on behalf of the raw materials industry, on the other hand, which take longer to build were neglected. The consequences everywhere are plain to see: the inadequate infrastructure endangers the profitability of the projects in the processing industries some of which are able to operate only far below capacity because of a lack of electric power.

As a result of the overextended investment sector, rising inflation and a large trade deficit in 1985 (the figure ranges from \$7 to \$15 billion due to different methods of computation) the leaders are beginning to wonder whether the economy can already be operated primarily by means of "economic levers," i.e. macroeconomic methods.

More than one-third of all government expenditures go into subsidies at the present time. In order to improve the lot of the farmers, the prices the government pays for basic foodstuffs were raised while consumer prices remained the same. Although prices for basic foodstuffs remained stable, the prices for many other foods, e.g. meat, fish, vegetables and fruit climbed rapidly according to the rules of supply and demand. City dwellers who receive compensatory government payments to offset the price rises were adversely affected by this development. Worst off are those members of the labor force who are not employed in production plants, i.e. those unable to keep up with inflation with the help of bonuses and premiums. This applies in particular to the teaching profession and to employees in administration and in research institutes.

In order to escape the "subsidy trap," the government began not to compensate the export industry for its losses any longer in early 1985. According to the 1984 PRC Statistical Yearbook, there were losses in the billions in this sector in prior years which severely strained the government budget. One result of the new ruling was that many export firms began to concentrate on the domestic market where demand had been rising rapidly. But now the Beijing authorities were forced to stimulate exports once again by means of premiums and administrative programs for the purpose of reducing the foreign trade deficit.

Chinese leaders have continued to call on the nation's most important trading partners to rectify the bilateral trade balance. This is supposed to introduce an automatic mechanism into the export trade. Anyone wishing to export goods to China must see to it that China's exports to his own country rise accordingly. In the FRG, this has already caused some annoyance in industry and trade circles. Those industries which have an interest

in exporting to China are urging the importers to bring in more Chinese goods. The importers, for their part, are complaining about the problems they face because the decentralization program has brought unrest, complexity and a confusion of responsibilities into the Chinese foreign trade picture.

The trade deficit and the problems of the Chinese export economy are making traditional direct delivery deals more difficult. But since the Chinese have a great need for the transfer of technologies, they are offering a large variety of economic cooperation arrangements to foreign firms. They are especially partial to the joint equity venture. In the Chinese view, this type of arrangement is useful in attaining various goals. Through close cooperation between foreigners and Chinese, the transfer of know-how takes place in all areas of economic activity--from production technology to marketing. In general, the Chinese side merely contributes the land, the buildings and the manpower, thereby saving on the hard currency urgently needed for other purposes. Since the joint ventures will primarily be marketing their goods in third-country markets, China may even be able to earn additional hard currency in an ideal situation.

Doing business with China is difficult--and it is not only the representatives of Kraftwerk Union who found that out. Many foreign companies which initially succumbed to the fascination of the supposedly vast Chinese market have thrown in the towel, in view of the high costs and the time spent. A good many hopes have come to naught.

At regular intervals, the Chinese themselves undergo a sobering experience whenever they fail to attain goals which were too hastily and ambitiously set. It was in this connection that the four special economic zones in the southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian made the news. Two-thirds of their economic activity was to be export-oriented; but last year it turned out that only one-third of all output was going abroad. Domestic regions took advantage of the particularly favorable conditions especially in the largest of the zones, that of Shenzhen, to satisfy their own import needs. Beijing chastised the provinces for their egotism and began to speak of "blood transfusions" for the zones. But when criticism of the zones was tied to general criticism about the opening of the country, Beijing felt called upon to defend the zones as an integral part of that policy, pointing out that the whole process would take time and that the desired export orientation would not be achieved until the required infrastructure was in place.

The licensing of private firms has resulted in initial successes in the industrial economy as well. Many of the new, small private businesses are operating in the service economy which is still underdeveloped. The private restaurants, repair shops and taxi companies have provided the public with better services. Their very existence has prompted the state-run enterprises in these fields to do a better job. At the same time, they have provided jobs for a substantial number of unemployed young people, most of them high school graduates.

But whenever private firms are spectacularly successful, they come under the scrutiny of the bureaucracy which feels, not without justification, that its decades-old prerogatives are being threatened. One example is the Beijing firm Jing Hai Industrial and Commercial General Company which was the subject of a recent story in the ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL. Founded by a computer expert, the firm which deals in computer hardware and software but has also turned to other projects managed to hire 11 university professors, 36 engineers and more than 500 young people who were unable to find jobs elsewhere. The firm has almost fully repaid a start-up loan of 2 million yuan (DM 1.7 million) and sales profits have quickly climbed to 15 percent or more.

The Beijing authorities sent a team of experts to look into the successful enterprise and criticized both the profits and wages as being too high. Jing Hai's managers pointed out that they had reinvested most of their earnings but this was of no avail. The maximum rate for sales profits was fixed at 12 percent.

The cadres of the mid-level economic administration constitute the staunchest opposition to the reform of the industrial economy. As the firms are granted greater independence, the administrators are afraid of losing their influence. They are unwilling to accept the prospect of becoming non-essential and being replaced in the factories by better trained executives. In the economic system which is still organized along vertical lines, these mid-level administrators represent the filter through which all well-intentioned reform measures must pass from the top on down to the actual working level. This may change in the course of time--but it is hard to imagine that the party leadership elite will accept a loss of power and influence at the hands of a new managerial class. And that does place limitations on the prospects for economic reform.

9478  
CSO: 4620/3

SYMPORIUM EXAMINES POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM THEORY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 July 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Ke Yi [2688 0001]: "Central Committee Party School Holds 'Symposium on Political Structural Reform Theory'; Emphasizes Meeting Requirements for Developing Planned Commodity Economy and Establishing New Socialist Political Structure Model"]

[Text] The 3-day "Symposium on Political Structural Reform Theory" conducted by the Central Committee party school concluded on 12 July in Beijing. The meeting emphatically pointed out that the economic structural reform must be accompanied by a corresponding political reform, and a new socialist political structure model which meets the requirements for developing a planned commodity economy must be established. Otherwise, the economic structural reform will be unable to succeed.

The comrades attending the symposium pointed out that the economic structural reform must be carried out in coordination with a political structural reform. This is the objective requirement for having the superstructure suit the economic base. In the actual work process, the various general and specific policies governing economic structural reform must rely upon party and government departments and cadres at all levels to put them into effect. If the political structure is not improved and our cadres are not competent, the smooth implementation of economic structural reform will be hindered.

In the course of discussion, everyone emphatically pointed out that China's socialist economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. In order to adapt to this reality, the old systems in which power is highly centralized--the lack of separation between the government and enterprises and the government's representation of enterprises--must be changed so as to cause the state and government to change from a management-oriented government, whose primary role is micro-management, direct control, and the use of administrative management measures, to a service-oriented government whose primary role is macro-management, indirect control, and the use of economic management measures. Therefore, this requires that we make a conscious effort to adopt the establishment of a new socialist political structure model which can meet the requirements for developing a planned commodity economy as a guiding principle for our implementation of political structural reform.

The comrades attending the sysmposium believed that the new socialist political structure model will be a new structure which is highly socialized and democratized. In order to establish this kind of new structure, the corrupt practice of the excessive concentration of power must first be overcome. In terms of breadth, the excessive concentration of power entails the lack of separation between party and government and the party's representation of the state, which leads to an excessive concentration of power in the hands of the party committees. In turn, the party committees concentrate power in the person of the secretary. In terms of depth, because power is concentrated in the various departments of the Central Committee, the localities and enterprises lack their rightful authority. Therefore, we must seek to bring about a separation of party and government, and have each bear its own responsibilities and each fulfill its own duties.

The establishment of a new, highly democratized socialist system must also be combined with the establishment of a legal system. In any type of political structure, if there are no laws guaranteeing it, then it cannot possess authority and will also be devoid of stability. Therefore, the organizational form, procedural form, authority, and duties of a new, highly democratized socialist system must all be grounded in legal provisions to ensure its stability and prevent anyone from harming it. Issues which lie within the scope of the law should be managed by the state and the government; if the party interferes too much, then the establishment of a sense of the legal system among the people will be impeded. If the party frees itself from meddling in the affairs over which the government has jurisdiction, not only will the party's leadership not be weakened, but on the contrary, it will also be beneficial in strengthening and improving the party's leadership.

The comrades attending the symposium at the same time believe that reform of the cadre system is also a key link in the establishment of new socialist political structure model. Reform of the cadre system involves eradicating the phenomenon of special privileges for cadres which is built into the system; improving the democratic process for selecting, supervising, and recalling cadres; effecting a tenure of office system, selection system, rotation system, and application for vacancies system for cadres; gradually reducing the scope of the appointment system; abolishing the system which in reality allows for the lifelong existence of posts for cadres; and establishing a cadre system which meets the requirements for economic and political structural reform.

The symposium also looked into the ways and means of establishing a highly democratized socialist political structure from such aspects as improving the People's Congress system, consolidating and expanding a patriotic united front, and developing multiparty cooperation.

Over 100 of Beijing's theoretical workers attended the symposium. Comrade Zhu Houze [4281 0624 3419], director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, also appeared at the symposium to give a speech.

13188/9190  
CSO: 4005/928

REFORM, UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES DISCUSSED

Shaanxi SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by Zhou Yaguang [0719 7161 0342]: "The Reforms Must be Resolute and Unwavering; Unhealthy Trends Must be Firmly Corrected"]

[Text] Carrying out the reforms and correcting unhealthy tendencies supplement and promote each other. As a general principle, the people are relatively clear about this. However, because of a variety of factors found in actual practice, some vague distinctions and some inappropriate actions consistently appear, and these then lead to unnecessary worries and losses in one aspect while attending to the other. We will undertake a thorough study of these to correctly resolve their application in practice.

Clearly demarcate the line between reforms and unhealthy trends. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once emphatically pointed out that the reforms are China's second revolution. Our practices since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee have clearly proven that the gains and losses and successes and failures of the reforms are related to the fate of the nation. The various unhealthy trends that exist within the party or in society are major enemies of reform and must resolutely be brought to an end. However, because of a variety of complicated social factors, some of the new actions and methods suggested in the reforms together with some of the unhealthy trends which need correction sometimes produce phenomena in which the good and the bad are indistinguishable. In order to carry out the reforms under such conditions we must clearly demarcate the lines between the reforms and the unhealthy trends. Consequently, the Central Committee and the provincial committees and provincial governments have already formulated and promulgated a series of relevant regulations for all levels of cadres to resolutely implement, and there absolutely must not be any conscious violations, non-implementation of orders or failure to observe prohibitions. However, with the all-out implementation of the reforms and construction, the variety of economic exchanges is extremely complex and conditions differ in each case so that it is not possible to immediately issue concrete regulations governing each task. Moreover, our current laws, policies, regulations and systems are still far from perfect, and especially during the process of transforming from the old system to the new, the overall arrangements of the reforms will for a time be unable to keep pace, so that it is entirely possible that for a given period of time certain policies will have unclear lines or that there will be no

rules to follow. When such conditions are encountered, I believe that as far as the party members and cadres are concerned, the only standard for determining right and wrong is the concept of right and wrong which is found in the party character. This means seeing whether or not something conforms to party character, whether or not it conforms to the dictum of serving the people, and whether it benefits or harms socialist construction. In short, this means seeing whether it benefits the nation and the broad people or whether it seeks to benefit an individual or a small group. With this principle in mind, even under a variety of confusing conditions and even if there are no regulations to follow, it is possible to avoid any dishonest practices; as soon as any error occurs, it can be easily corrected once it is pointed out.

Mistakes in the reforms must be correctly handled. The reforms are an unprecedented great undertaking and since there are no established patterns to follow it is possible to have the best intentions and yet do the wrong thing. One reason is inadequate experience and the inability to clearly comprehend that a mistake is being committed. The reforms are being carried out in the midst of explorations so that it is impossible for each and every step to be perfect and it is difficult to avoid errors and deviations. A second reason is that the reforms are a process of transforming from an old system to the new so that when the old system already has been smashed the new one still has not been established, or else the old and new systems are both being used concurrently. Under such conditions it also is easy to produce errors. A third reason is that of the issues raised by the changes made in some specific policies. In recent years, some of our actions and policies in the reforms changed in accordance with conditions so there were revisions and continual improvements. Some affairs were carried out in accordance with the original regulations, which were changed by later policies, thus producing some problems. In handling these problems it is necessary to consider the conditions of the times rather than using the current new regulations to evaluate past affairs. As for the above problems, as long as the reforms are not made into an excuse to exploit advantages, carry out opposing policies, practice fraud and consciously break the laws, then none of them can be seen as illegal acts or unhealthy trends and should all be summed up as learning experiences in improving policies and should be resolved so as to strengthen managerial actions; yet, it must be clearly stated that there must be no pretext of correcting unhealthy trends in order to limit or attack the reforms. In addition there is yet another condition, namely, that of proceeding from reality in carrying out the reforms and smashing certain administrative restrictions now in use. As long as these conditions are generally beneficial in developing the social production forces and in constructing the two types of culture they are permissible and there is no need for inordinate alarm. At the same time, it must be noted that it will be equally difficult to avoid one-sidedness in people's understanding, and that it will be difficult for a unit or a department to avoid having certain limitations in their concrete actions and approaches. This is acceptable as a localized practice, but not as an overall practice; whatever practice may benefit a particular unit will not necessarily be beneficial on a broader scale. With regard to this we must make overall considerations and weigh the pros and cons, and all of those issues which affect overall policy must

strictly be referred to the upper level leadership for instructions and not be carried out individually.

Correct handling of the relationship between protecting the people who conduct the reforms and attacking the criminal troublemakers. In correcting unhealthy trends it is necessary to focus on protecting the people who conduct the reforms, there must be thorough confirmation of this. In considering the errors of the reformers, one should not grasp any single point which does not measure up to the rest. Those who harbor evil intentions toward the reformers, frame cases against them and attack them must be severely punished. The protection given the reformers' pioneering spirit is just like the care extended to all new things. At the same time, as for the errors and inadequacies of the reformers, they must be pointed out realistically and the shortcomings cannot be protected. At the present time, when some people hear of support for the reforms they are afraid to even mention errors in the reforms or shortcomings which the reformers ought to overcome because it seems that even a mention of any shortcoming is an attack on the reforms. This sort of understanding and methodology is contrary to our ideological line of truth through practice. We bring attention to the shortcomings of the reformers in order to help them correct mistakes and to better shoulder the tasks of the reforms. To be a reformer, one must be broadminded, serve the interests of the party and the people, bravely support the truth and rectify mistakes, and one should not hide a fault for fear of criticism, refuse responsibility or fear the correct views of the masses. In short, if we only are practical and realistic and keep the public interest in mind while not jeering en masse or raising a storm we certainly then will be able to properly handle the two tasks of supporting the reforms and correcting unhealthy trends. What deserves special attention is that there now is an extremely small number of people who actually use the name of reform to secure benefits for individuals or small groups. They ignore party discipline and state law in all things through swindling and bluffing and committing wrongdoing. When the upper level leadership or the discipline investigation departments discover these problems the offenders make accusations every which way in claiming that the reforms are being attacked or stifled, thus striving to confuse the issues. With regard to this, we must be clearly alert, maintain the necessary political vigilance, and not be confused by the words of these people. Whenever there is anything contrary to party discipline or state law or any problem with unhealthy trends then there must be a thorough investigation and strict punishment.

The reforms must be unshakable and unwavering, unhealthy trends must be firmly corrected, and illegal undisciplined behavior must be ruthlessly suppressed. These are our guiding principles and our province has been successful in these tasks. In the future, we will continue to strive to create a favorable social environment for smoothly carrying out the reforms. Toward these ends, all of our comrades must be firmly resolved to carry out the following: 1) Make progress in strengthening awareness of the reforms. In carrying out all affairs one must firmly remember that in all the central tasks of the reforms nothing should be done that will weaken them. 2) Strengthen the concepts of the legal system and party discipline. The reforms need the protection of the legal system and party discipline. Disregard for the legal system and party discipline whenever the reforms are mentioned and the excess caution and lack

of creativity at the very mention of unhealthy trends are both incorrect and ought to be vigorously overcome. 3) We must strengthen our attitude toward being realistic. The concrete conditions found in the reforms and in the correction of the unhealthy trends are very complex, so there must a concrete analysis of these concrete conditions in order to seek out just and reasonable resolutions for the problems. We definitely must proceed from a foundation of unified theory and practice in correctly understanding and handling the relationship between the correction of unhealthy trends and the reforms, and thus promote deep involvement in the development of the construction of socialist modernization.

11582

CSO: 4005/929

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ORGANIZATIONAL ABUSE OF POWER DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 25 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Gang Jian [0474 1696]: "On 'Self-aggrandizement' of Power"]

[Excerpt] There is a strange phenomenon in our society: the seemingly ubiquitous self-aggrandizing power of some organizations and individuals. They think they have the right to inquire into, interfere with and control other people's private affairs. I can never understand, why should an organization bother about people having perms? Or who their boy or girl friends are? If their energies are spent on these things, how can they have the mental and physical strength to take care of the important matters and questions of orientation?

There are even more serious consequences. The self-aggrandizement of some organizations and individuals and their interference in other people's affairs have contributed to the spreading of the abnormal phenomenon of "substituting power for the law." Some units have thrown court summons into the wastepaper basket and refused to appear in court. One people's court has received a letter bearing the bright red official seal of an organization, saying that would "negotiate" with the court "in an equal and calm atmosphere." Without approval of public security and judicial departments, some individuals have searched other people's bodies and houses, confiscated their properties and taken them into custody at will. These individuals persist in their old ways, paying no attention to the sacred law, and do as they please, having no regard for citizens' personal rights. It is an understatement to say that these individuals are "legal illiterates." Their trouble is malignant self-aggrandizement, putting themselves and their organizations above the law. Unless this disease is eradicated, the radical cure of all kinds of malpractices in the legal field will be just empty talk.

I read the following report recently in the newspaper. A young woman in Yancheng Prefecture, Jiangsu, was regarded by the leadership of her unit as "very indiscreet" in her private life because she maintained a relationship with several men. In order to take disciplinary actions against the young woman, the unit's party and CYL branches went so far as to assign a political cadre to "collect evidence" by shadowing her. Finding that she was being watched, the young woman went to court and accused the political cadre of violating her personal rights. Following an investigation, the local court found that the charge was based on facts and that the political cadre was guilty of "illegal exercise of the power of investigation," for which he should be punished according to the criminal law.

This is a story which calls for deep thought. To some people, the shadowing ordered by the organization was aimed at "helping and saving" the young woman. And how can that be a violation of the criminal law? But, the facts are clear, and there is no need to go into detailed argument about the case.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DIVERSIFICATION IN DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM DISCUSSED

Deng Weizhi On Diversification

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE No 6, 15 Jun 85 pp 2-5

[Article by Deng Weizhi [6772 0251 1807], China Encyclopedia Publishing House, Shanghai Branch: "On the Issue of Diversification in the Development of Marxism"; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editorial Comment: The support and development of Marxism are basic guarantees for accomplishing socialist modernization in China and also are fundamental conditions for the healthy development of the international communist movement. Without support there naturally cannot be any development. But without development there is no real support. What is to be done so that we can both support and develop? We in the realms of academia and theory ought to place this issue in an important position in conducting research and discussions. This publication has recently received a number of articles concerning this issue, and in support of the the spirit of academic freedom, we edit and publish these works, and welcome the broad readers to participate in this discussion.

Defining the Issues

If we say that the claim made in the fourth decade of this century that Marxism had already "spread throughout the world" contained an element of artistic exaggeration, then the claim made today that Marxism permeates the entire world is one which is entirely sincere and honest.

In many countries on all continents and not just in the socialist countries there are many workers in all sorts of Marxist groups studying the works of Marx.

In many countries on all continents and not just in the socialist nations there are university classes in Marxism. The Marxist teaching materials prepared by a professor in New York are used in over 100 universities.

Foreign newspapers report that:

"There are almost no serious publications which do not undertake discussions involving Marxism."

"It can be said that in newspaper articles, in university publications and on radio and television, virtually no day goes by without reference to Marx, Engels and Lenin or to their theories."

Foreign scholars refer to this phenomenon of the mention of Marxism in all publications and the daily references to Marxism as a "second birth of Marxism" and a "literary revival of Marxism."

However, the global nature of the spread of Marxism then poses a problem for people: except for those people who harbor anti-Marxist goals in their "studies" of Marxism, when the Marxist scholars of each nation who make scientific studies of Marxism have completed their research, have they all reached the same understandings? They unquestionably differ.

This point can be confirmed by our own practices. We take Marxism as our guide and not only do we repeatedly write it into our party regulations and national constitution, in reality we also practice it. The organization of the Marxist research we conduct primarily relies on the collective and from start to finish the point of view emphasizes upholding consistency with the party Central Committee. Even though this is the case for our Chinese researchers there still by no means is any great consistency of views on all issues.

Is it acceptable to have some inconsistent views? According to the traditional concepts formed over many years: it is not acceptable! The reason is that the so-called "hundred schools" in the final analysis are but two schools--one Marxist school and one non-Marxist school. If not this then that, it must be one of the two. If certain people in authority are Marxists, and your views differ from theirs, you then are non-Marxist. If you are unwilling to be non-Marxist, well, sorry about that, and "the less said the better!" It is none other than this "less said the better" that has led to this depressed atmosphere in the theoretical realm. I had a teacher who in the Yenan Period was called "Little Marx" and who wrote many good articles. However, from 1958 to the present, I see that he has published only two articles. Why is this? In regard to this he vindicates himself with two sentences: "If Marx has already said it, what is there for me to say? If Marx did not say it, why should I?" From these two sentences it appears that he must have undergone countless struggles. As I see things, it was not that my teacher did not have anything to say but rather that he simply was afraid of being "non-Marxist." See, even "Little Marx" must avoid "the suspicion of being non-Marxist," so who would dare not avoid it? This really gives one pause for introspection. It has been 30 years since the policy of "one hundred schools contending" was offered for developing scientific and cultural endeavors. It cannot be said that there was not even a little contention in those 30 years, as there were some small disputes and occasional outcries. Why were there no major disputes? To put it bluntly, this is the very reason.

In order to support and develop Marxism and in order that countless "Little Marxes" dare to think independently and dare to be creative, it is necessary to clearly put forward a policy such as this: under the common premise of confirming Marxism, we ought to permit the existence of different factions within Marxist research; setting aside all references to the differences of correctness or error that naturally will exist between all factions, we ought

to recognize that the development of diversification has already taken place in Marxism.

There Must be a Breakthrough in the "One School Theory" of Marxist Research

In the past few years, no matter whether in China or abroad, there always is a dispute over the "young Marx" and the "mature Marx." Are those who study the young Marx the Marxists or are those who study the mature Marx the Marxists?

It is generally said that those who study the youthful Marx are the Marxists. However, has Marxism always decreed that age is the only standard for maturity? Has not history shown us some great Marxists who steadily became less Marxist as they grew older?

There also are some people who divide Marx's writings into periods such as the "Marxist stage" and the "pre-Marxist stage." In order to study Marxism, it definitely is necessary to divide his writings into certain stages. However, it is not especially scientific to have to divide them into a "Marxist stage" and a "pre-Marxist stage." Marxism has a great deal of content, and for rough divisions there are the three organizational components that we generally speak of. We may well ask: no matter how close the relationship between these three periods may be, are they in step with the stages of maturity? Probably not. Someone once listed five aspects of Marx's economic theories by dividing them into five periods to note their degree of maturity and arranged them into a chart which showed clearly that their degree of progress was not uniform. Such being the case, how is it possible to simply use some time frame to divide Marx's writings into the two stages "Marxist" and "pre-Marxist"?

Many people who study Marxism believe that the "Communist Manifesto" is the standard for maturity, and this belief is certainly well-founded. However, the "Communist Manifesto" says: "The average pay for wage labor is the lowest level of wages." ("Complete Works of Marx," Vol 4, p 481) Isn't this the stamp of the pro-agriculture faction? There is immaturity within maturity and maturity within immaturity, this is a problem which Marx passed on to us, and it also is a reason for the formation of different factions within Marxist research.

To say that any given Marxist viewpoint is either mature or immature, correct or incorrect actually has a great range of application and definitely has an objective basis. Nonetheless, these ultimately are evaluations which the successors must make and ones which unavoidably are permeated with subjectivity and which unavoidably must be "annotations to the classics." Those which meet with approval are seen as viewpoints of mature Marxism; on the contrary, those which do not meet with approval are seen as immature viewpoints. One example is the worldwide great debate, that has taken place over a 30-some year period since the 1950's, which surrounds Marx's work "The 1844 Economy: A Philosophical Draft." Some people say that the "Draft" is on a par with "On Capitalism," some people say that the "Draft" is more complete than "On Capitalism," and there are some who say that it is as much a breakthrough as "On Capitalism" but is superseded by "On Capitalism." Some people say that is it "daybreak" and some say that it is the "darkness before the dawn." Which is Marxist and which is non-Marxist? It would appear that

there is no need to make any absolute statement. Marx's thought went through a developmental process, so that when it was still immature it already contained some mature elements, and when it tended toward maturity it could still have some immature elements. There then is no reason to believe that those scholars who make some affirmations of the "young Marx" are all "non-Marxists" or even "anti-Marxists."

Marx was an individual. The differences within an individual's process of understanding, in the end, are that of the individual. Marxism, however, is the crystallization of collective wisdom. The creators of Marxism constitute a plurality. Among the different creators there is an area of basic consistency, something that ties them together. Nonetheless, the differences between them also objectively exist. For example, there is the "second violin" Lenin, who said that he believed that the theories of the "first violin" Marx contained a number of areas which remained unresolved. (See "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 38, p 123) Marx and Engels had a number of disputes, as everyone knows, and these disputes had a number of not necessarily minor complications. Marx definitely did not immediately produce mature theories. The theory of surplus value was Marx's second great discovery, but Engels said that Marx lacked the time to thoroughly clarify this theory. (See "The Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 39, p 25.)

The second stage of Marxism is Marxism-Leninism, and it has even more ideological differences than existed between Marx and Engels. We know that Leninism is a development of Marxism. Saying "development" pleases everyone. I don't know if all developments imply discarding. Without discarding there is no creation. Lenin discarded the theory of the "simultaneous victory of socialism in the major capitalist nations," and suggested the theory that socialist revolutions would first be victorious in countries having relatively weak capitalist control and with a relatively weak economy, and, as everyone knows, this was successful in practice. It was precisely because Lenin did not carry out any "whatevers" for Marx that Marxism was developed, so why should we want to carry out any "whatevers" for Marx and Lenin? Not carrying out any "whatevers" permits people to make scientific studies of Marxism, it permits different understandings, different factions, and permits contention between different viewpoints. The right or wrong of all differences can be discerned only through demonstration and social practice. This is the only way to make major developments in the scientific theories of Marxism.

#### Marxism Definitely Will Develop Diversification Through Practice

In China Marx-Leninism is called "Marx-Leninism" and this sometimes is written as "Marxism-Leninism." However, in English and European languages "Marxism" and "Leninism" are joined by a conjunction or written as "Marxism--Leninism" to express the differences or relationship between the two. As for the differences between the two, we ordinarily do not give them any great thought. However, regarding the experts and scholars of Marxism-Leninism, it is equally important to clarify the differences and the relationships among them. In foreign countries there are people who believe in Marxism but are opposed to Leninism. They exaggerate the differences and deny the continuation, which are mistakes. However, if we have several viewpoints in our understanding of the

issues of continuity and stages in Marxism and Leninism, this is good and should be permitted.

Continuing on after Leninism, there was "Stalinism." Within the international communist movement there also was the expression "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism." Later on, some people took "Stalinism" as a derogatory term, though we believed it to be included within Leninism. At the same time, we did not believe that "Stalinism" was the "third stage" of Marxism. If we do not see Stalinism as the third stage, what then is the third stage? Some people have felt that it is Mao Zedong thought. Mao Zedong thought is both a continuation and new breakthrough of Marxism-Leninism, and also is a continuation and new breakthrough from "Stalinism," especially a breakthrough, as we already have half a century of history of new breakthroughs. After the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we furthermore had new breakthroughs in the area of the Stalin models that we had previously used. These breakthroughs actually are signs of our support of Marxism and also are the result of our Sinification of Marxism through practice.

Marxism, just like any other truth, is a process of development the length of which can be divided into a number of stages. Each stage can have new breakthroughs and developments, all of which can generate new things which differ from traditional understandings. In terms of breadth, in different countries Marxism had both differences in the creation of new content and in the development of different forms. Marxism joined with the Russian revolution in producing Marxism-Leninism; Marxism-Leninism joined with the Chinese revolution in producing Mao Zedong thought. What about other countries then? In theory, they all face the problem of joining Marxism with the practices of their country. This to say that in practical applications Marxism will definitely manifest diversification which is characteristic of each nation.

Marxism requires that each individual nation with different conditions determine its own path for carrying out revolution and construction according to the actual conditions of that country. The overall unification and broad application of Marxism to a country's conditions is a principle which all socialist nations must uphold. According to this, there can be no unified model for socialism. In reality, the contemporary world has several different models of socialist construction. The USSR and Yugoslavia each have their own models and we have our own model with Chinese characteristics. These different paths for constructing socialism all have a basis which can be found in the theories of Marx and Lenin, and they all can also be found in the actual conditions of each country. Expanding on this, all nations which carry out socialist revolution and construction face the problem of "individualizing" Marxism. If you "individualize" it and others also "individualize" it, then this naturally will produce the "individualization" of several specialized socialist paths. The belief that one's own "individualization" is correct and that the "individualization" made by others is incorrect is contrary to Marxism. Lenin said: "The more methods the better, our common experiences will be more greatly enriched, and the socialist victory will be more dependable and attained sooner." ("How Should Competition Be Organized?") The diversified styles of Marxist practices demonstrate the diversification of the paths of socialist construction and determine the diversification of

developments in Marxism. Such diversification can only add to the rich hues of Marxism.

In a few nations which have not yet achieved a proletarian victory, there still are many people who believe in Marxism. They are now offering various ideas for attaining proletarian political power according to the conditions in their countries.

In the United States, there are people who have suggested that capitalism can undergo gradual reform and ultimately arrive at socialism, and other people, according to the characteristics of their level of cultural development, have suggested undergoing cultural revolution to enter into socialism.

In Western Europe, there are some people who believe that because this is the birthplace of the bourgeois revolution and has long-entrenched democratic traditions they advocate following a peaceful democratic path toward socialism, and moreover suggest "a democratic model of socialism." They also advocate a "multi-party system" in the belief that one-party government control "too greatly endangers democracy."

As for the issue of what sort of people should be relied upon to attain power, there also are a number of views of various types and forms. The Americans say they have many intellectuals and should rely on them. The Africans say that the African proletariat is too small and that the peasants are unwilling to mobilize so they advocate relying on the native petty bourgeoisie.

None of this is to be found in the volumes written by Marx and Engels. Then, is all of this baseless talk? I think not. Even though the various concrete ideas mentioned above cannot be found in the works of Marx and Engels, nonetheless, a thorough reading of the works of Marx and Engels shows that Marx was completely in favor of using all possibilities in grasping power. In the times of Marx and Engels, there had been no suggestion of any program for carrying out the practices of the socialist revolution, and today the question of how to carry out socialist revolution in countries having different conditions has already become an issue having genuine, broad significance, and programs have been suggested. Many scholars in each faction and in each scientific field are all concerned with the issue of how society will develop; the fields of philosophy, economics, history, sociology, ethics and the fine arts all have developed interest in Marxism and all are discussing the issue of socialist revolution. These people cannot avoid bringing along the theories and methods of their sciences and suggesting ideas which are tinged with the hues of their own sciences in the struggle for socialist victory.

#### A Brief Conclusion

1. The multiple factions in Marxist research and the diversity of development in Marxism are products of the "enthusiasm for Marxism." Following the heightened degree of the "enthusiasm for Marxism" greater creativity will surely develop in Marxism, this tendency has objective existence so we cannot look without seeing it and adopt an attitude of non-recognition.

2. Marxism has both unity and diversity, it is an amalgam of unity and diversity. The diversity of Marxism is an expression of the rich vital force of Marxism. Its generality is contained in its specificity. The development of numerous specifics helps to improve the level of the generalities.

3. The many factions in Marxism are divided into superior and inferior, and of course there are differences of right and wrong. The path of testing for superior or inferior and for right or wrong is discussion and practice, not reliance on subjective and arbitrary decisions.

4. It is both logical and necessary to recognize the diversity of understanding and application in Marxism, this denies any monopoly over research and development in Marxism and is a "liberation" of Marxism.

5. Marxism is a creative theory. Creative theories rely on creative human talents, and creativity in academic activities achieves creative developments.

#### Deng Weizhi Rebutted

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE No 6, 15 Jun 86, p 5-7

[Article by Ji Sulin [1213 5126 2651], CPC Party School Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Party Committee: "The Term 'Diversification' is Unsuitable in Describing Current Developments in Marxism--A Dialog with Comrade Deng Weizhi"]

[Text] In 1985, SHEHUE KEXUE No 6 contained an article by Comrade Deng Weizhi [6772 0251 1807] titled "On The Issue of Diversification in The Development of Marxism" which offered a bold viewpoint of research in Marxist theory. The present writer believes that the wording "diversification in the development of Marxism" is not entirely suitable. This article mentions a few points of different understanding and discusses them with Comrade Deng Weizhi.

#### I.

The concept of "diversification" itself has imprecise connotations and can be extended in different contexts. In discussing a theoretical system there not only is the suitability of its form but also the suitability of its content. As for "diversification in the development of Marxism," the people can understand this in the sense that the inheritors of Marxism are adding wealth to the treasurehouse of Marxist theory in a different historical period. They can also understand this as a different understanding and different comprehension of the theoretical system of Marxism. They can even understand it as the existence and development of different schools within Marxist studies. Generally speaking, only the first situation can truly be considered as a development of Marxism. The other two situations definitely cannot lead to any development of Marxism, especially with the current variety of schools and currents of thought in Marxist research. Just as the Deng article says, "there must be a common premise which affirms Marxism." The affirmation of this premise will place a considerable number of Marxist researchers outside of the "development of Marxism." However, the Deng article's specific

discussion ignores this very premise to the extent of even seeing the current "enthusiasm for Marxism," which is now so prominent and which should be carefully analyzed, as an expression of the development of diversification in Marxism. Such a view contradicts his own premise.

From the time of the development of Marxism up to the present, its increasingly greater influences on human society have been far deeper and broader than those in Marx's own time. In social and political life, more and more political parties and nations are carrying the Marxist banner. In every nations and under different historical conditions and under different social practices the proletariat has accumulated a great number of new experiences with special characteristics and has enormously enhanced and developed the theoretical storehouse of Marxism and has promoted ongoing new developments in Marxism. All of this thoroughly proves the revolutionary nature and scientific nature of the Marxist theoretical system. In the developmental process of Marxism, on the one hand there are many new practices and experiences which have greatly enriched and developed the theoretical foundation of Marxism, and on the other hand, practice has also resulted in some breakthroughs, additions, revisions, developments and discardings in the views and conclusions that Marx made in those years. Even though this is the case, however, as a scientific system the general truths of Marxism still are the theoretical foundation which guides us. The development of Marxism should be established on a foundation which supports Marxism. In short, developments and breakthroughs in Marxism whether in form, content or theory are products which agree with the general truths and specific practices of Marxism. They are the specific application of the general principles of Marxism under different historical and social conditions. An abundance of varied practices will certainly produce a plethora of new experiences in great variety, but true developments cannot diverge from the Marxist theoretical system. This concept of "diversification" overemphasizes specifics and slight universals and easily falls into errors in its understanding and comprehension of developments in Marxism.

The developments in Marxism are just like its birth, neither of them can be separated from the major path of the development of human civilization. Marxism itself was the continuation of the results of the superior thought of its predecessors, and it of course still had to absorb the results of the superior human thought from different historical periods. Marxism does not shut out truth, it not only opens wide the paths to its own development, it simultaneously provides a scientific world view and methodology for other areas of scientific research. History has continually proven that the scientific system of Marxism has an ever greater influence on the other sciences and that the superior results in these other sciences in turn promoted developments in Marxism. For example, the theory of knowledge of Marxist dialectical materialism provided a scientific methodology for research in the natural sciences and promoted rapid developments in the natural sciences and in scientific techniques. On the other hand, when the natural sciences made a series of major breakthroughs, they not only tested and verified the Marxist theory of knowledge in practice, they simultaneously promoted continued developments. This situation of mutual help and mutual interaction is a tendency in the development of human civilization. It explains that although Marxism is a scientific theoretical system, and that no

matter how broad or deep it is or that it is still being enriched and developed, in the end however, it still cannot at all times and in all places completely sum up all of the superior results of the development of human civilization. At the same time, each field of science has its own process of independent development and we of course cannot sum up the developments in each field of science as Marxist developments.

It should be seen that after people were constantly involved with Marxist research, the foundation of the three organizational elements commonly mentioned in the past further provided more detailed offshoots and generated new sciences. Many sciences were continually enriched and developed with new content. Is it possible to use diversification to sum up these conditions? Probably not, because all these sciences, no matter what their special characteristics might be, are a part of the Marxist theoretical system. Their relationship with the entire theoretical system of Marxism is either a partial or a complete relationship, and they cannot be separated from the entire system and still exist and develop.

## II.

One issue that must be understood and analyzed is that there are many schools of research in Marxism. This is especially the case in the current Western "enthusiasm for Marxism," and although from another perspective this reflects the great vitality of Marxism, it nonetheless cannot represent the direction of development in Marxism and even less can it be seen as a direct factor in the development of Marxism. A concrete examination of these schools shows that objectively there are only "two major schools" which either support or oppose or which develop or distort. Even if those researchers who openly oppose Marxism are eliminated, still not all factions recognize the two great discoveries made by Marx or admit the basic principles of Marxism. There actually are no small number of researchers who sing praises of Marx but whose world view is historical idealism and whose research results run counter to the basic principles of Marxism.

As for the various trends of thought and schools found among current researchers of Marxism, there first ought to be analysis and research with a scientific attitude to forestall the possible growth of any sort of blindness. Although one cannot disdain to take even a single look, one also cannot totally accept and extend recognition to it without making an analysis. It is essential for a socialist country guided by Marxism such as ours is to sincerely perform this research and clearly demarcate in principle the borderline between support and distortion and between development and ossification.

The Deng article obviously lacks genuine analysis of certain specific issues, so that some of the conclusions found in this article do not stand up under real discussion. For example, with regard to the distinction between the "young Marx" and the "mature Marx," the original reference is to a system of thought. The former refers to Marx in the complex period of transformation when Hegel's disciples--the Feurbach school--were setting out to establish the viewpoint of historical materialism. The latter refers to Marx after the establishment of historical materialism and during the gradual unveiling of

the mysteries of surplus value in these two different periods. As a person Marx was a courageous seeker whose thought gradually developed from immaturity into maturity, and in these two periods his thought system obviously made great qualitative leaps. People use the terms "young" and "mature" simply to make a distinction and to depict the differences, just as people refer to Zhang Xueliang as the "young teacher," not at all as indicated in the Deng article by making age the "sole criterion" of maturity of thought. Obviously, the Deng article took the surface meaning of these words as absolutes, resulting in a confused logical premise.

There is another example. From the "Draft" in 1844 till "On Capitalism," did Marx's economic theories undergo a process of development from immaturity to maturity? According to the view of the Deng article, there seems to be no need to make a distinction, i.e., "it is unnecessary to make too absolute a statement." The reasoning is that the immaturity incorporates some mature elements and that the maturity incorporates some immature elements. However, aren't the mature elements found in the immaturity and the immature elements found in the maturity simply a matter of six of one and a half dozen of the other? Could it be that the researchers did not make an examination to see what this main current of development was? If we accept the view that the "Draft" is more complete than "On Capitalism," this at the very least means that: 1) The resolute denial of the classical theory of the value of labor is more enlightened than carrying it forward through criticism or than the revolutionary reform of it; 2) It is more scientific to explain the historical trend of the inevitability of communism through the restoration of basic human qualities than through the actions of social contradictions. Obviously, this is very one-sided. Actually, there are differences in the theoretical systems of the "Draft" and "On Capitalism," but the rejection of the actual process of development of Marx's theory of economics is not at all a Marxist academic attitude. In order to uphold and develop Marxism it is extremely important to clarify the differences between the two. Moreover, a scientific methodology must be adopted to arrive at conclusions entirely in accord with reality, and to completely avoid the so-called "annotations to the classics."

What we ought to squarely face up to is that at present there is a relatively great number of schools of research in Marxism and that the area of this research is focused on the "Draft" and on Marx's other early works, and that in regard to the humanism, humanitarianism and alienation found in the contents, they make a commotion and deliberately exaggerate in order to create a sensation. This "enthusiasm for Marx" which "enthuses" over the "Draft" and is "cool" toward "On Capitalism" reflects a trend which is worthy of attention. Faced with this trend, we should keep a clear mind and deal with it realistically. Some parts of it require repression and some require refutation, they cannot be accepted without analysis and permitted to develop freely. In short, we must clarify the main current and the nature of developments in Marxism as this is the only way that we can guarantee to support and develop Marxism under the new conditions.

### III.

Marxism as our guide has already expressly been written into the national constitution and the party regulations. Consequently, there is even greater

importance in the practical significance of supporting and developing Marxism. Under this general premise of promoting the development of Marxism and developing research and academic investigation of Marxist theory, we first ought to unswervingly implement the "double hundred" policy and carry out the "three not-ism" and uphold human equality in the face of truth. To permit different viewpoints and understandings to the extent of free contention between academic factions, to encourage Marxist researchers to bravely smash taboos, to carry out creative research and to continually open up and make progress--all of these are necessary for the development of Marxism and are guarantees of the glorious flourishing of our efforts in the social sciences.

Under "leftist" influences in the past, Marxist theoretical research in China suffered a serious setback which not only caused immeasurable personal harm to a great many expert scholars who supported and developed Marxism and who carried out diligent research, it also gave rise to dogmatism, formalism and absolutism in Marxism, even to the extent of developing no small number of things which were given the label of "traditional views," thus shackling people's minds, obstructing the development of Marxism under the new conditions, and even resulting in enormous harm to practice. These evil influences even now have still not been thoroughly eradicated, so that many people still have lingering fears, and on many sensitive issues they feel it is best to say little or nothing, they act with caution and avoid suspicion of "non-Marxism." This explains why the liberation of thought continues to eliminate "leftism" and why the correct implementation of the "double hundred" policy still is a long-term task.

Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, studies of Marxist theories in China already have gradually entered into a new phase. Healthy, normal academic discussions and contentions greatly increase day by day and have taken an extremely progressive role in our endeavors to construct socialist modernization. A number of facts apparent to everyone explain the conditions in our current theoretical battlefield and in the area of the social sciences, and they already have created profound transformations. "Leftist" influences no longer occupy a commanding position and have become a partial factor, a vestigial form and a minor issue.

It ought to be pointed out that another type of tendency now exists on China's theoretical battlefield, one which is prejudicial but nonetheless still worthy of attention: a few researchers' appraisal of the basic situation in China's theoretical areas is tinged by prejudice. They frequently look too seriously upon a few remnants of "leftism" no longer in leading positions, so that they are unable to have a correct attitude toward some justified criticisms and consequently form a type of emotion which psychologists call a negative attitude. This is especially manifest when certain critical views come from the leadership organs or from leaders having specific authority, so that even if the view is rational and sympathetic and entirely different from the "murderous" and "repressive" "big criticism" of the "Cultural Revolution," it nonetheless still is frequently considered, without any analysis at all, to be the same as being "labeled," "beaten" or treated with "unreasonable authority." There also are some people who, on the one hand, demonstrate extremely liberated attitudes in their thought, but on the other hand seldom combine this with realistic and profound research of issues. Obviously, a

researcher who has taken an unswerving vow to strive to develop Marxism should not have such qualities or attitudes.

Since Marxism is a science, one ought to adopt a scientific attitude to study, research, support and develop it. This then requires correct criticism and counter-criticism. Carrying out the "double hundred" policy and opening up free contention in themselves are an exchange and a confrontation of different ideas and viewpoints and are an actual process of criticism and counter-criticism. In normal criticism and counter-criticism, each viewpoint is continually subjected to practice and testing. Practices which are completely new push Marxism into making creative developments and are an overall trend in historical development. The process of overall development manifests a certain blindness and certain incorrect views, and even manifests a certain tendency toward errors, all of which are difficult to avoid. One of the effective methods of preventing and correcting such phenomena is that of conducting correct criticism and counter-criticism. Not only is this the case, when there are tendencies for theories to easily incite chaos or for practice to bring unfortunate results, it is entirely necessary to use such correct methods to make criticisms, to exert control and give guidance in order that we might guarantee our improved support and development of Marxism.

To sum up, the enrichment and development of Marxism under different historical conditions is a product of the unification of the general truths of Marxism with the proletarian revolution and with the specific practices of construction. No matter whether new experiences have new characteristics of form, or whether their content is new or a breakthrough, none can escape the Marxist theoretical system. The development of diversity in Marxism is an ambiguous and vague topic. Supporting and developing Marxism requires a good environment for academic contention, demands liberated thought and a brave, accepting spirit, and even more demands a strictly academic attitude, i.e., scientific research which proceeds from reality and systematically and profoundly seeks truth from facts.

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CSO: 4005/849

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DECISION-MAKING POWER TO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 86 p 1

[Letter from staff reporter Li Jiajie [2621 1367 2638]]

[Text] To the Editorial Deptment:

The president of a university in south China recently told this reporter: "Of the eight expanded administrative powers which the departments concerned decided should be delegated to institutions of higher learning, it can be said that all have been delegated partially, and none completely." He called for implementation of the decision to expand the decision-making power of institutions of higher learning so that they can better meet the requirements of economic and social development.

This is what more than one school call for. On a recent news-gathering tour of Beijing, Zhejiang, Henan, Heilongjiang and Sichuan, this reporter has been told of the situation everywhere. Quite a number of university presidents showed me a document with a heading in red print, on which were listed the eight decision-making powers delegated to the schools. One by one, it was demonstrated with facts that "none of the eight powers has been completely delegated."

One president said: According to regulations, with approval of the department in charge, a school is authorized to examine and make its own decisions on some designs provided it is assured of the desired results on the investment. However, it does not work this way actually. A school is subject to too much control from higher authorities to the extent that it cannot make even such minor decisions as how a balcony should be designed or where a bookcase should be placed in a student dormitory.

A number of presidents and deans pointed out that the readjustment of the service orientation of a specialty always makes it necessary to give it a new name. However, a change of name is equal to establishing a new subject, which must be approved by higher authorities. Thus, in fact, the power to "readjust the service orientation of specialties according to society's needs" has not been delegated to the schools. The formulation of education plans and teaching programs, selection of teaching materials and reform of the content of courses and teaching methods are subject to even more restrictions as they are under the control of many higher-level commissions. It is very difficult for the schools to carry out reforms based on actual needs. And the reforms that are being made are of little importance. The schools' outlook has not changed much.

Many presidents and deans said that the least kept promise is the authority to engage in academic exchanges with foreign countries. Exchange programs, whether it is to send people abroad or accepting visitors from foreign countries, are controlled too rigidly and by too many people.

The presidents and deans met by this reporter said that although the power to appoint and dismiss cadres was delegated to the schools, it has yet to become a reality. The reason is that the personnel and wage systems have remained intact. An incompetent cadre may be removed, but he continues to get the same pay. Thus, those who do not work are better off than those who work. The school cannot let this happen, because it is unfair. Moreover, no one dares to transfer an incompetent teacher to work in a laboratory or other department, because one may be accused of failing to implement the policy toward intellectuals and even criticized. Therefore, eating out of the same big pot is still the safest thing to do.

They also cited numerous facts to show that financial and other management powers have not been given to the schools.

In addition to these problems, there are also interferences from the outside. For example, when a student fails to meet requirements and is about to be properly dealt with, someone from higher levels would come and intercede for him, and when there is need to purchase land for school development, the road is often blocked by the "planning authorities." As a result, some schools do not want the expanded powers and try to maintain the situation of "stability and unity"; some schools, finding themselves running into stone walls when trying to exercise their expanded powers, have become disheartened and adopted a wait-and see attitude; and the leaders of some schools, finding that the document with the heading in red ink does not work, do not want to be leaders any more. Most schools, however, hope that the departments concerned at higher levels will carefully examine the situation, seriously study the problems in expanding the decision-making power of the institutions of higher learning and adopt concrete measures to solve them.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MORE PEOPLE TO RECEIVE ADVANCED DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] Based on a decision of the State Council Academic Degrees Committee in September 1985 on conducting experiments for people to apply for master's and doctor's degrees without leaving their jobs, seven institutions including the Beijing Iron and Steel College, East China Normal University, Tongji University, East China Chemical Engineering College, Northeast Engineering College, Central-South Industrial University and Northwest Industrial University were designated experimental units for granting master's degrees, and three institutions including Beijing University, Beijing Iron and Steel College and the Chinese Academy of Sciences were designated experimental units for doctor's degrees. So far, 158 young teachers, 78.2 percent of the first group of applicants, have been given master's degree, 7 percent in science and 93 percent in engineering, and 8 in-service teachers and scientific research personnel have been given doctor's degrees, 6 in science and 2 in engineering.

Allowing in-service personnel to apply for academic degrees not only means fully implementing China's regulations on academic degrees, but is an important measure to promote the development of top-level professional people. It opens a channel for those who have a relatively high educational level and are engaged in practical work to obtain degrees. It gives in-service personnel an opportunity to earn a degree by improving themselves professionally while doing their work.

The State Council Academic Degrees Committee has strictly examined the work reports from the experimental units and the pertinent records on those who have been granted degree. The committee says that the quality of the first group of applicants granted academic degrees under the experimental program is good, and that as a whole they are up to the same academic standards required of the institutions' own graduate students working for master's and doctor's degrees. The 158 young teachers who have received their master's degrees were mostly outstanding college graduates of class 1981 or later years. In the past few years, they have studied while working, acquire a fairly solid foundation of basic theories and systematic professional knowledge in their respective fields, and developed a rather strong ability to work independently. Of the eight persons granted doctor's degrees, five are lecturers, and three are associate research fellows. They all did exceedingly well in the examinations for the degree, and their theses won favorable comments. They are quite good in their

thinking, moral integrity and work performance, and they have some achievements and practical experience in work. Most of them have published academic articles in well-known periodicals at home and abroad.

The State Council Academic Degree Committee held its seventh meeting recently, at which it was decided that the number of experimental units will be increased in this and the next year following a summing up of the experience gained by the first group of experimental units and revision of the "procedures for in-service personnel to apply for master's and doctor's degrees (for trial implementation)" so that a solid foundation can be laid for the work to develop steadily in our country.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WRITERS INCREASE CONTACTS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

OW091154 Beijing XINHUA in English 1131 GMT 9 Nov 86

[Excerpt] Beijing, 9 November (XINHUA)--Contacts between Chinese and foreign literary circles are increasing, according to the Chinese Writers' Association.

Figures released at a current workshop of the association here show that in the first ten months this year, more than 200 Chinese writers visited 30 countries in Asia, Europe, North America and Africa, a record high for the past decade. During this period, China received more than 100 writers from 20 countries.

"More and more Chinese writers and literary works are watched over by the world," said Deng Youmei, member of the association's secretariat, adding that contacts were no longer limited to general literary briefings, but involved more academic discussions on literary creation, translation and the social effects of literature.

Relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are also being enlarged, he said. He noted that the Chinese Writers' Association has taken concrete measures to step up exchanges with their foreign counterparts. One of these was the International Symposium on China's Contemporary Literature held early this month in Shanghai.

The three-day symposium was the first of its kind ever sponsored by the association, which has drawn 68 sinologists from 22 countries including the Soviet Union, Britain, France, Sweden and the United States.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WRITERS GROUP TO IMPROVE LITERARY CRITICISM

OW081358 Beijing XINHUA in English 1113 GMT 8 Nov 86

[Text] Beijing, 8 November (XINHUA)--Improving the quality of literary criticism will be a major task of the Chinese Writers' Association next year.

Bao Chang, an executive member of the secretariat of the association said that expanding and developing critical writing will be a top priority. He made the announcement at a national workshop that opened here today.

"While upholding the principle of freedom of expression in writing, critics still need advice on how to integrate literary theory with social life," Bao said.

"Although there have been many recent debates on Chinese literature they have been of little practical use," said Bao, who wants critical writing to make a contribution to modern Chinese literature. "How to achieve this goal remains a major task for us," he told more than 300 members of the governing council of the association who attended the workshop.

He advised critics to study Marxist theories and party policies on literature in addition to insisting on the principle of freedom for the field.

At least seven special meetings will be held next year to help develop critical writing, he said. Several academic studies will be conducted. They will look at the relation between literature, readers and practical life, and the developing trends in contemporary literature.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XINHUA INTERVIEWS WRITER ON NOBEL PRIZE

OW072105 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Shanghai, 7 November (XINHUA)--"Chinese writers need not show too much concern for the Nobel Literature Prize, because our purpose of writing is first of all for the Chinese, and what our people need is not necessarily what the Swedish like."

Chinese writer Ba Jin, chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, said this in an interview with XINHUA at his home here today.

According to the 82 year old writer, the literature prize does not have any rigid standards like that of the natural sciences.

"There are many good literary works in the world, but only some 20 people are involved in each selection. Though they hold repeated discussions, the scope is limited. Besides, for complicated reasons, including political attitude and individual favor, we can hardly say the work selected is the most remarkable in the world," he said.

Ba Jin also responded to the statement by N.G.D. Malmqvist, member of the Swedish Academy who spoke yesterday here at the International Conference on Contemporary Chinese Literature, saying Chinese have never won a Nobel Literature Prize because of poor translations of their works.

In the past, he said, translated versions could hardly reflect the original meaning of the works because many of the works were cut short for the so-called "political needs."

"It is a literary prize rather than a prize for translation," said Ba Jin.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU QIAOMU SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE HONORING WRITER

OW190943 Beijing XINHUA in English 0851 GMT 19 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Beijing, 19 October (XINHUA)--"Naturally, it will be best if all the human beings are not separated and show concern for each other. And the most even road leading to this can only be made through literature and art. It's a pity that so few people have taken this road."

Quoting these remarks said fifty years ago by Lu Xun, China's great writer, a Chinese scholar said today at an international conference for commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the writer's death that Lu Xun would probably be relieved to see that his career has been well succeeded and that more and more people are taking "this road."

Today, over 400 people from different parts of China, six foreign countries and Hong Kong gathered at the international club here to attend the opening ceremony of the conference on Lu Xun and Chinese and foreign culture.

Lu Xun is described as a forerunner of China's new culture and dedicator to the Sino-foreign cultural exchange.

Hu Qiaomu, member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and honorary president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), called Lu Xun "the major founder of China's modern literature" in his speech.

Also speaking at the ceremony were Tang Dacheng, deputy president of the China Writers' Association, and Liu Zaifu, director of the Literature Research Institute of the CASS.

It was a common conviction expressed by all of them that the five-day conference will not only help further carry out the research work of Lu Xun, but also benefit the development of national new culture and promote international cultural exchange. Because just as Qian Zhongshu, deputy president of the CASS, pointed out in his opening speech, "no conference is without difference," this conference has provided an opportunity for everybody to express his own views, and exchange is possible just through such opportunity.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW EDITION OF MAO'S WORKS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 86 p 9

[Article by Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037], Feng Xianzhi [6646 0341 4249], and Wu Zhengyu [0702 2973 5940]: "Features and Significance of the New Edition of 'Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Zedong'"]

[Text] A newly compiled "Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Zedong" in two volumes is now available to the reading public. This is the first set of selected works of Mao Zedong to be completed since the CPC Central Committee decided to have them compiled and published following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The publication is intended as an appropriate reader of Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works for the vast number of cadres and youth. The "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Volumes 1-4, of which the authors took charge of compiling during the 1950's and 1960's, has for decades exerted a widespread and profound influence at home and abroad; it remains the chief sources for the study and research of Mao Zedong thought. However, it is limited to his writings prior to the founding of the People's Republic. Also, for the masses of cadres and youth of today it is a bit too voluminous. The "Selected Readings," Volume 5, published in 1977, because of its many problems in compilation and selection, is no longer for sale. The "Selected Readings" published in Editions A and B in the 1960's has played an active part in popularizing Mao Zedong thought, but no small number of important works were not included or were included in bits and pieces. In recent years, while the party Central Committee reiterated that cadres should go deep into the realities of life and study the Central Committee's contemporary documents, it time and again demanded that they read some basic writings by Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. For these reasons, the publication of a new edition of "Selected Readings in Mao Zedong's Works" became imperative.

The "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed in the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has made a scientific analysis and judgment of Mao Zedong's historical status, of the value and content of the scientific results of Mao Zedong thought linked, in its practice, with Marxism-Leninism, and of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in ideology and practice in his later years. With the spirit of the resolution of history as its

guiding principle, in this new version are 68 selected articles of Comrade Mao's most important, most fundamental scientific writings in different periods between 1921 and 1965. Most of these articles are included unabridged, including such essential lengthy works as "On Protracted Warfare" and "On New Democracy." There are also individual long articles selected in abridged form, such as "On Coalition Government," in which appears only Part 5 of his talk on the "Three Important Styles of Work." In order to reflect Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution during the socialist period affirmed by the party's resolution, concerning certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC, 19 articles written in that period were selected, some abridged and some compiled from talks on the same topic written in the same period of time. Seventeen articles were not included in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" and some of them have been published for the first time.

#### Characteristics of New Version in Compilation Work

In compiling the new version of the "Selected Readings," useful experience was derived from the compilation work of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." Also derived was the new experience accumulated from the compilation of party documents in recent years. Every effort was made to ensure progress and innovation in several aspects over the compilation of the "Selected Works."

Let us begin with the digging up of the contents and their compilation.

The new version begins with Comrade Mao's "Speech at the General Meeting of Changsha Members of the New People's Study Society" delivered in 1921. That is a breakthrough compared with the "Selected Works" and the "Selected Readings" with Editions A and B, which traditionally begin with "Class Analysis of China's Society." The new beginning article is an important document marking Comrade Mao's choice of the Marxist revolutionary road. The many probes, pursuits, and comparisons the young Mao Zedong had been through in his quest for the true path of saving the country and the people led him to make the final decision. Most of the earliest group of China's Communist intellectuals walked the same path. This process still serves to inspire today's readers, especially young readers.

"Talk at the Emergency Meeting of the Party Center" (7 August 1927) was a speech of crucial historical significance and profound ideological content delivered at the well-known 7 August meeting at which a redefined correct direction for China's revolution was made at the crucial juncture following the first setback of the revolution.

"Combat Bookishness" (May 1930) was dug up following the publication of Volume 1 of "Selected Works." It is included in Editions A and B of "Selected Readings." The highly characteristic essay has taken the embryonic form of the attitude of seeking truth from facts in fact-finding research, of the mass line, and of independent, self-determinate thinking. It throws light on the internal relations of the three. It is also the earliest document conveying the dynamic soul of Mao Zedong thought.

"Letter to Lei Jingtian" (10 October 1937) embodies some vital thoughts on humanity and legality. It was selected from "Selected Letters by Mao Zedong."

"Freedom Is the Inevitable Cognition and the Reform of the World" (1941) is a passage extracted from a long essay criticizing the third "leftist" line. The material was found at a later date. It permeates the message of "On Practice" through an understanding of the relationship between freedom and certainty. The article can be deemed a supplement to "On Practice." The link can be found in the "Talk at the Enlarged Work Conference" in which Comrade Mao returned to the same proposition 20 years later. It throws light on the fact that it is one of his consistent important philosophical viewpoints.

"We Must Show the People Their Material Benefits" (December 1942) is edited from two passages from the book titled "Economic and Financial Problems." The book is a valuable work written in the Yenan Period as a result of Comrade Mao's painstaking study of economic problems. It also consists of voluminous concrete material and it is a penetrating analysis. In its previous compilation, as instructed by the author, only this first chapter was included. In consideration of the fact that the strategic thought and the materialist conception of history interpreted in the two additional passages are still important today for its guidance significance, the said passages are thus included.

The above are the principal additions to the contents of "Selected Works" Volumes 1-4. As for the writings between 1949 and 1957, the new edition differs greatly from "Selected Works," Volume 5, in the guiding principles concerning selection and edition. Hence the very different table of contents.

Among the post-1958 writings, seven articles are selected this time. Among them, "Both Red and Expert" (January 1958) is selected from "Sixty Work Methods (Draft)," including the vital theoretical principles concerning social contradiction analysis, which has been published for the first time. "Inner Party Correspondence" (29 April 1959) is an important document recording, now, following the Second Session of the Zhengzhou Conference, the party Central Committee corrected the "leftist" mistake in the "Great Leap Forward," which is also made public for the first time. "Study Marxist Epistemology and Dialectics" (December 1963-65) is a collection of five passages of philosophical writings, three of which have been published for the first time. These five passages, which are closely linked to "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (May 1963) embody Comrade Mao's important new generalization of epistemology and dialectics.

Let us now move on to the revision and rewriting of the title notes and text annotations.

Besides the new title notes and text annotations, a great deal of revision and supplementation have been made in the new edition. Some important interpretation and comments are made in part of the revision or rewritten title notes and text annotations. Examples are summarized as follows:

"On the Correction of the Wrong Thinking Inside the Party" has this to say: "Even in the socialist period, material distribution should still be in accordance with the necessity of the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' There can never be such a thing as absolute egalitarianism." The phrase "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" is not found in the 1929 original text. It was added to the 1951 "Selected Works," Volume 1. In fact, "from each according to his ability and distribution according to his work" (the old translation was "to each according to his work") was first put forth by Stalin in December 1931. To avoid confusion in the study of intellectual history, a note is added here to throw light on the reason why the revision was made previously.

"No Investigation, No Say" is a vital slogan put forth in "Combat Bookishness" that is intended to realize the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Not long ago, Comrade Mao went one step further to point out in "The General Political Department's Notice Regarding the Population and Land Condition Survey": "These are our slogans: (1) no investigation, no say, and (2) no accurate investigation, still no say." The second slogan was an important supplement to the first. In the new edition one note is added to present the new wording of the notice.

A note is also added to "On Practice" showing what Comrade Mao once said in a letter: "It is not proper to associate the Taiping Rebellion with antiforeignism." That has to be revised when "Selected Works" is published. But when it was published, that instruction was neglected and no such revision was made in accordance with the intention of the letter.

In "The Chinese Communist Party and China's Revolutionary War," one note is added to the new edition indicating that Comrade Mao once wrote to Comrade Xiao Xianrong (then minister of propaganda of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), reminding him that when it comes to compiling textbooks for the soldiers "they should differentiate between the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, between the pro-Japanese big bourgeoisie and the non-pro-Japanese (i.e., pro-British and pro-American) big bourgeoisie, between big landlords on the one hand and middle and small landlords and the enlightened gentry on the other hand." He also mentioned making corresponding revisions in Chapter 2 of "The Chinese Communist Party and China's Revolution War."

He said in the letter that when he was writing Chapter 2 of "The Chinese Communist Party and China's Revolutionary War" in December 1939, "The first anticommunist climax was entering its first few months, when they had yet to see clearly whether the national bourgeoisie and the enlightened gentry differed in attitude from the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords. But it became clear by March this year. Please refer to my 11 March 'Tactical Problems in the United Front.'" The new annotations made on the basis of Comrade Mao's post-April 1940 revised script of "The Chinese Communist Party and China's Revolutionary War" point out that those passages of the current version were supplemented by Comrade Mao when he revised the script afterward.

In so doing, information is provided to help readers understand and study how Chairman Mao's thought developed itself with practice and experience.

As pointed out in "On New Democracy," following the outbreak of World War II, the bourgeoisie in the colonies and semicolonies had to stand with either the imperialist or the anti-imperialist front. There was no other path to take. In his talk with Brazilian reporters [Malojin] and Mrs [Dute] on 2 September 1958, he said that in fact this viewpoint applied only to some countries, not to such nationalist countries as India, Indonesia, and the United Arab Republic. In Latin America there were also many such countries. They stood neither on the side of the imperialist countries nor on the side of the socialist bloc but kept to a neutral stand without joining either bloc. That was suited to their existing situation. These words of Comrade Mao served significantly to explain "On New Democracy." So it was the compilers' duty to introduce it to the readers. Hence the new note added to the new version of "On New Democracy."

The original title note on "Reform Our Learning" tells us that the Yenan Rectification Movement started off a great polemic between proletarian ideology and small bourgeois ideology, stabilizing the proletarian front inside and outside the party. However, the revised note on the title has this to say about the movement: "It gave rise to a great discussion of such issues as how to approach the Marxist-Leninist tenets from the practical rather than the dogmatic viewpoint, how to link practically the basic Marxist-Leninist tenets to the realities of China's Revolution, and what attitude to adopt toward the inner-party two-line struggle from the beginning of 1931 to the end of 1934. In so doing it stabilized the proletarian front inside and outside the party." That is a more accurate, more practical generalization of Yenan Rectification.

"The Current Situation and Our Mission" is an article shedding light on the 10 Great Military Principles. In his talk at the 23 June 1958 Party Central Committee Enlarged Military Meeting Group Leader Forum, Comrade Mao said that the 10 Principles were the products of combining the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's Revolutionary War. "However, Marxism is not static but is developing itself forward. Even the 10 Great Military Principles have to be supplemented and developed, some even to be revised in accordance with the practical battle situation in the future." Comrade Mao was talking about the 10 Great Military Principles as concrete issues, but the thoughts he elucidated have their general denotation. The note added to the new version quotes the above message in its entirety.

The new title note on "On 10 Major Relationships" not only puts the evaluation of the writing in more accurate terms but also introduces a vital historical fact: In the process of this speech being discussed by the Central Political Bureau, Comrade Mao set forth the policy of "let 100 flowers blossom and a 100 schools of thought contend" to be practiced in academic work and the arts. Comrade Mao presently announced his policy at the Supreme State Conference.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" has a new title note added: "The anti-rightist struggle had started before the talk was announced." Because of an overestimation of the serious situation in which the rightists might attack the Communist Party and the socialist system, in the process of sorting out the speech draft were included, discussions stressing the intensity of clear struggle and the question as to whether socialism or capitalism would win out remaining genuinely unsolved, which was not in keeping with the spirit of the original speech.

"Both Red and Expert" relates to the application of the masses' method of debate and the airing of their views for carrying out the anti-rightist struggle. The new edition has a note added to explain the origin and evolution of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters," and the reason why the "four bigs" never played an active part in safeguarding the people's democratic right but rather hindered their normal way of practicing it.

"Talk at the Enlarged Work Conference" was drafted on 30 January 1962. In the current version is a discussion relating to classes and class struggle: "The overturned reactionary classes are still planning restoration. In our socialist society, new bourgeois elements can still emerge. Throughout the whole socialist period, classes and class struggle will still exist. This class struggle is long-termed, complicated, and sometimes violent." A note is added to the new edition to point out that this passage was made in the bulletin of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee on 28 September 1962. In February 1966, when the script was distributed to all leading party cadres for reading, the above words, after being inspected and approved by the author, were added to the speech.

As the above examples indicate, the later writings by Mao Zedong selected for inclusion in the new version still, unavoidably, show signs of some "leftist" practices and thinking of those years. As regard such areas, some necessary comments are made through title notes or text annotations, but, as we can understand, such comments are made only sparingly, as there is no need to do otherwise.

"Social practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" is a significant proposition of Marxist epistemology. After the crushing of the "gang of four," debates over issues relating to this proposition were started, serving to make mental preparations for summoning the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In both his "On Practice" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" Comrade Mao expounds this idea without crystallizing a proposition so brief and so much to the point. When he revised an article in 1963 Comrade Mao added a few sentences including the above. In the new version a note is added to "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" to bring out this situation.

The annotation involves a huge quantity of historical data. The revision made use of the results yielded in the annotation and revision work conducted and

organized by Comrade Tian Jiaying in the early 1960's, and on top of that, some new textual criticism and research work were carried out. This type of revision work demanded a very heavy workload but great progress has been made in achieving accuracy in historical facts. As annotation on personages shares a sizable proportion in the volume of annotation in this revision, the compilers have, according to what the text demands, done their best to reflect, comprehensively and objectively, the main circumstances and experiences of these personages, avoiding passing too many judgments and correcting certain unfounded, incorrect judgments made in the text are also corrected. An embodiment of this spirit can be found in the revised and supplemented notes on such personages as Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423], Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614], Hu Hanmin [5170 3352 3046], Dai Jitao [2071 1323 7118], Liang Shiqiu [2733 1395 4428], Zhang Ziping [1728 6327 1627], Zhou Zuoren [0719 0155 0086], Pan Hannian [3382 3352 1628], "Hu Feng" [5170 7364], and Wang Shiwei [3769 1395 0724].

What do these anthologies tell us about the printing and edition of the original articles? There is no such mention made in the previous "Selected works." But in the new edition of the "Selected Readings" the edition and script of each article are made clear in an annotation. Some of these annotations even tell us about the chief editions of the script. Such notes can shed light on the situation in which each article was published so that researchers can, wherever necessary, make a comparative study of the different editions.

Besides, the new edition also corrected a few misused characters found in the original and the misjudged publication dates of some articles.

Time move forward as so does people's knowledge. Succeeding document compilation work should surpass the preceding in scientific quality. The question is that there are still many inadequacies in the progress being made. With the help of the researchers of various disciplines and the reading public, it is hoped that the party's document compilation work has yet new advances to make.

#### Significance of Reading Mao's Scientific Writings Selectively

While we are all confronted with the heavy new mission in modernized construction and reforms, we need to acquire all kinds of new knowledge, study all kinds of new situations, new experiences, and new issues. Why then must we allot a certain amount of time to study Comrade Mao's writings, which were written decades ago?

About this necessity, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made it thoroughly clear.

As early as March 1981, Comrade Deng reiterated the need to study some history. This is because "the youth know nothing about our history, especially the history of China's revolution and the Chinese Communist Party." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 268.) He told us to study seriously the works of Comrade Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. "The study must be linked to the history of China's revolution so that we can understand how the party led the revolution, what merits Comrade Mao achieved, and how China's revolution was

achieved." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 336.) He also expressed the need to study Marxist philosophy and Comrade Mao's writings on philosophy. He said: "Comrade Chen Yun said that when he returned to Yenan from Moscow after the Anti-Japanese War broke out, Comrade Mao told him on three occasions the need to study philosophy, especially the need for being practical and realistic. Comrade Chen Yun has a feeling that he benefited much from that. Now some people just look at the phenomenon and comment on it. The reason is that they have no foundation in either theory or practice. We must lay the foundation before we can actually correct my mistakes, including the mistakes of being 'leftist' and rightist. The Yenan Rectification Campaign, which opposed subjectivism, sectarianism, and party jargon, sought to solve the problems once and for all rather than solve side issues." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 337.)

In September 1985, Comrade Deng once again demanded the new cadres, as well as the old ones, to study Marxist theory and master its basic principles and methods. Only in so doing, he pointed out, can we "foster the principle, systematization, foresight, and creativity of our work."

It means historical studies on the one hand, especially the history of the revolution led by the CPC, and it means theoretical studies on the other, especially the Marxist world outlook, epistemology, and methodology. It means not studying history for history's sake nor studying theory for theory's sake. Our purpose of studying both areas is to study the present condition, to aim at the new realities so that we can accomplish our missions in practical construction and reform. The current situation study must be properly combined with the historical and theoretical studies. Without an appropriate linkage we cannot possibly solve our realistic problems with a high degree of historical and theoretical awareness.

Here is a well-known saying of Comrade Mao: "China today is a result of the development of China in history" ("Selected Readings", p 287.) China's revolutionaries should grasp not only the histories of foreign revolutions but also the history of China's revolution; not only the China of today but also the China of yesterday, and the China of the day before yesterday. Are we not now seeking to go on restructuring China, to realize China's modernization, and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics? Without knowing how China today developed from China in history, it would be difficult to grasp how China today can develop itself into her future. There have been enthusiastic discussions of China's history and culture. That is significant. In discussing historical problems we need to inspect seriously and think deeply about how, since the 4 May Movement, the progressive Chinese and the Chinese Communists, absorbing foreign ideological trends and experiences in their study of China's situation and history and in comparing different doctrines and advocations, sought out the way to save and reform China, and how they one after another sacrificed their lives or went through thick and thin to change the course of China's history and create a new history for China. They came to grips with China and remolded her. They created a great many grand achievements but also left many unfinished tasks. They completed a lot of work but there were also many things they didn't quite finish or didn't do well enough. Today we must

understand our predecessors' strivings, their achievements and inadequacies, before we can put our efforts together with theirs and excel them and before we can push far ahead the enterprise of realizing China's modernization on the basis of socialism. If we pay no attention to the history of Chinese people's revolution led by the CPC, how are we to understand today's China, or plan for tomorrow's China?

To understand the history of this period, we need to study a great variety of writings, the most important being those by Comrade Mao. Because he was one of our party's founders. He was our party's recognized leader after the Zunyi Meeting. Under the leadership of the Communists whom he represented, China transformed from a semicolonialist, semifeudalist society into a new democratic society and then into a socialist society. Despite the serious mistakes he committed in his later years, his road before that point most correctly represented the history of our party. His writings register the experience of the revolution and construction led by our party. Our party's rich and unique experience was also discussed by other leaders, which was mainly presented by Comrade Mao in his writings. As a theoretical generalization of China's revolution and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC, Mao Zedong thought is collectively generalized in Comrade Mao's scientific writings. Many young students have not studied these writings or have studied very little. And some young cadres and even middle-aged cadres, due to the influence of the past environment, have never read them systematically with a scientific attitude. For these comrades, these writings are new stuff. They need only to read them, and read them seriously, to discover their new world inside. As for the comrades who have read Mao Zedong's writing before, they will also reap a new harvest reviewing them under the new conditions.

It was always Comrade Mao's advocate that in studying Marxist and Leninist writings "one should learn the standpoint and method whereby they observed and solved problems" ("Selected Readings," p 287), rather than attempt to seek from them a concrete plan for solving the concrete problems in China's revolution. That applies not only to revolution but also to construction, not only to Marxist-Leninist writings but also to Mao Zedong's.

The concrete road for China's revolution is the basic Marxist principle and method the Chinese Communists use in construction with the concrete realities of China's revolution. It is independently created through practice. The concrete way to build socialism with Chinese characteristics likewise requires our efforts to combine the basic Marxist-Leninist principle and method with the concrete realities of China's construction and to create it independently through practice. In creating the concrete road for China's revolution, Comrade Mao had made indelible practical and theoretical contributions. In trying out the concrete road for China's construction, he had also made a good beginning, but because he made a detour and failed to finish this creation, the task is now passed on to us, to his successors.

In the struggle in which we continue to probe and create the construction of a concrete road for socialism with Chinese characteristics, we need to study, on the one hand, all realms of science and, on the other hand, the basic theory

of Marxism, especially the Marxist world outlook, epistemology, and methodology, to acquire principled guidance for ideology and direction. In putting Marxism into successful practice in China's revolution and construction, Comrade Mao also enriched its theory and method with new contents. In studying Mao Zedong's writing today, we should also, through such study, emphatically study the Marxist world outlook, epistemology, and methodology, and how Comrade Mao practiced and developed them. In other words, we should study the essence of its spirit, study its dynamic soul, and not learn by heart the concrete inferences and in practical construction practice every single sentence. It is out of this consideration that in the "Selected Readings" Comrade Mao's scientific writings discussing the Marxist world outlook, epistemology, and methodology are recompiled. At the same time, in our study stand, viewpoint, and method, we must concern ourselves not only with the study of the specialized philosophical works which expound such issues, but also all kinds of scientific writings which creatively apply them, for analyzing and solving actual political, military, economic and cultural problems. Give expression to the spirit through concrete application--that is the way to acquire applicable profound knowledge. In this sense, the entire "Selected Readings" is the teaching material for the study of Comrade Mao's enrichment and development of the Marxist world outlook, epistemology, and methodology.

The "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" is right in saying that "many of Comrade Mao's important writings were drafted during the New Democratic Revolution period and the Socialist Reform period, but we still have to study them constantly. That is not only because history cannot be cut off, and our ignorance of the past would prevent us from understanding the current problems, but also because these writings contain a great many basic laws, principles, and scientific methods of universal significance, which now perform, and will continue to perform, an important guidance function. Therefore, we must continue to adhere to Mao Zedong thought, to study seriously and make use of its stand, viewpoint, and method so that we can study the new situations arising from practice and solve the new problems." With this quotation we conclude this our introduction to the new edition of "Selected Readings in Mao Zedong's Writings."

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ATTITUDINAL SURVEY OF WORKERS, STAFF REPORTED

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 86 p 4

[Article: "Ten Great Changes in Present-Day Social, Cultural, and Psychological Outlook"; extracted from article in LILUN XINXI BAO [THEORETICAL NEWS JOURNAL] of 4 August 1986]

[Text] According to an investigation by the federation of trade unions of Xian City, changes in China's political life and economic structure have resulted in corresponding changes beginning to occur in the cultural and psychological outlook of staff and workers, such as in their mode of thinking, their ideology, and in their individual characteristics. Such changes are:

1. While their conscious acceptance of a "conviction" and of subordination is slackening, inclination toward analytical thinking and criticism is growing stronger.
2. While conscious acceptance of conservative views is slackening, there is an increasingly growing inclination toward explorative and creative ways of thinking.
3. While a dependent mentality is decreasing, there is growing self-assertiveness and competitiveness.
4. While there is a relative slackening in political awareness, there is growing economic, scientific, and esthetic awareness.
5. While there is a relative slackening in ethical awareness, there is a growing awareness of material gains. The trend is to pursue both these goals with equal emphasis, and new moral principles are in the process of taking shape.
6. While there is a slackening in some respects and a strengthening in other respects of collective awareness, there is a stronger inclination toward self-realization, and a trend toward an integrated development of both, collectivism and self-realization.
7. While there is a slackening in awareness of seniority and rank, there is a stronger inclination toward democratic awareness and sense of equality.

8. While there is a slackening in the conscious acceptance of "rule by men," there is a stronger awareness of the "rule by law."

9. The mode of thinking is developing from a one-way pattern of seeking common ground to a three-dimensional pattern of seeking differentiations.

10. Individual characteristics are developing from an introvert, self-contented pattern of selflessness and "courteous yielding" to an extrovert, noncomplacent pattern of forging ahead and competition.

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SUPERSTITIOUS SECTS, SECRET SOCIETIES COME UNDER ATTACK

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 25 Jun 86 p 2

[Article: "Attacks Against Reactionary Superstitious Sects and Secret Societies and the Elimination of Feudal Superstition: An Interview with a Responsible Person of the Public Security Department"]

[Text] Criminal activities have been strongly attacked and severely punished, and this has also effectively repressed various types of reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies. However, in a few localities which are economically and culturally backward these ideas have not yet been eradicated. In these areas the superstitious sects and secret societies are elements which threaten peace and cohesiveness, endanger the construction of material and spiritual culture and harm public security. Consequently, an important task is the strict abolishment and suppression of the activities of the superstitious sects and secret societies in those localities. This reporter interviewed a responsible person of the Public Security Forces on this topic.

Q: What are the reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies?

A: The superstitious sects and secret societies are also called the reactionary schools of thought and the reactionary doctrines, and they have evolved from the secret societies and superstitious sects of the old society. In the evolutionary process some became reactionary forces such as the Yiguandao [0001 6306 6670], the Nine Palace Sect [Jiugongdao 0046 1362 6670] and the Former Heaven Sect [Xiantiandao 0341 1131 6670].

Q: What dangers are posed by the superstitious sects and the secret societies?

A: The superstitious sects and the secret societies are politically reactionary. The leaders and core membership of some superstitious sects and secret societies attack the socialist system and plot to "overthrow the government" and become "emperors." Some even plan armed uprisings. The superstitious sects and secret societies are organizations which are under their control. The leaders of the reactionary sects are the enemies of the dictatorship of the people.

Some of the superstitious sects and secret societies use superstition and fraud to spread ideas of overthrowing the government. Some plot to instigate disruption by promoting "cataclysmic" views. Some spread reactionary "classic texts" to stultify and poison the people's spirit. Some corrupt the human feelings of young people through the "transmission of the way."

The superstitious sects and secret societies are also a major factor in the threats to public security. Some obtain money through fraud; some harm the people's lives; some seduce women and girls; some waste the people's money, harm production and disturb the peace.

Q: Some superstitious sects and secret societies are now carrying out their practices and activities in the name of "freedom of religious belief." Would you please discuss the differences between religions on the one hand and the superstitious sects and secret societies and feudal superstitions on the other.

A: These superstitious sects and secret societies now call themselves religions and seek official recognition. Some claim to be a branch of Buddhism and some claim to be a "unity of the three faiths" or a "unity of the five faiths."

Religion means Daoism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism or Islam. Orthodox religious activities are protected by law. The "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the "Penal Code of the People's Republic of China" already clearly regulate these matters. The superstitious sects and secret societies are entirely different from the religions. Our government has already clearly ordered their abolishment and continuing to conduct such activities is illegal and a transgression of the laws.

The superstitious sects and secret societies are not the same as feudal superstition. Feudal superstition broadly refers to blind beliefs and worship and generally means such things as spirits and ghosts, faith in astrology, divination, geomancy and a life-root [minggen 0730 2704].

The superstitious sects and secret societies are also heavily tinged with feudal superstitions which, as far as the sect leaders and core members are concerned, simply are guises for concealing their goal of remaining free of accusations while carrying out the activities of the superstitious sects and secret societies. They take advantage of the feudal superstitions and ideas which exist in the people's minds in order to increase their membership and enlarge their organizations and to achieve spiritual enslavement and thought control of their disciples.

Q: What laws does our government have to abolish and attack the activities of these superstitious sects and secret societies?

A: On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the People's Government in the liberated areas frequently published the laws abolishing these superstitious sects and secret societies. After the founding the People's Republic of China, the "People's Republic of China Regulations Regarding the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries," "The Legal Code of the

People's Republic of China," the 1983 National People's Congress "Resolution Concerning the Repression of Criminal Elements who Seriously Threaten Public Security" all have clearly served to abolish and attack the problem of the superstitious sects and secret societies. The following restrictions exist:

1. Those who organize and use superstitious sects and secret societies to carry out counterrevolutionary activities and other criminal and illegal acts should all be restrained by law and strictly punished; and those sect leaders and core members who are currently engaged in destructive activities should be severely punished according to the laws.
2. The People's government long ago ordered the abolishment of the reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies and will not permit their restoration.
3. The members of these societies and sects are being harmed as well as deceived. The party and the government have a consistent policy of education and guidance to emancipate them from the deceit, coercion and harm.

Q: Is the struggle against the reactionary secret societies and superstitious sects a long-term one, and what is our basic policy on this?

A: The struggle against the reactionary secret societies and superstitious sects is a long-term one. The level of cultural and scientific knowledge among the whole Chinese people is still relatively low and the level of the production forces and the development of conditions in material livelihood are still uneven. The various natural disasters still cannot effectively be completely controlled, so the people still cannot escape the perplexities of natural and human disasters. Some of the feudal superstitions that remain among the people are easily turned into fallacies and confusion, so that the reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies still have a certain footing. Some of the unreformed old sect leaders still are around, and the possibility exists that some of the antagonists who look upon socialism with hostility may become new sect leaders or core members. In addition, there also is some outside infiltration into these localities. There are two basic policies for handling this. One policy is strengthening the construction of material and spiritual civilization, energetically propagandizing the theory of materialism, science and technology, promoting universal cultural education to permit even more people to increase their knowledge of culture and to reduce and then eliminate superstitious ideas. The other policy is to carry out resolute attacks against those sect leaders and core members who are now engaged in destructive activities by the simultaneous exposure of their criminal activities, explanation of the dangers they pose, and education of the masses that they have deceived and defrauded. These actions rely not only on the legal departments, but also rely on the concerned propaganda, information, union, youth and women's groups to carry out propaganda and education work.

11582  
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BRIEFS

RECORD 41,000 GRADUATE STUDENTS--Beijing, 1 November (XINHUA)--China will enroll 41,000 new graduate students next fall, the most since the 1949 liberation, QUANGMING DAILY reported today. Virtually all of the entering students will be selected on the basis of examinations schedules for February. Candidates must apply during the first 5 days of December. All applicants for graduate school must pass examinations in a foreign language and in Chinese political theory and affairs as well as in their subject areas. Once they enroll, the students will either study full-time for 3 years to earn Master's Degrees or for 18 months in non-degree programs. Their tuition and living expenses will be paid by the work units where they have been or are set to be employed. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 1 Nov 86 OW] /12232

TRAINING OF YOUNG PROFESSORS--Beijing, 4 November (XINHUA)--A Beijing University scholar said his school must support its younger faculty "if it wants to be first-rate in fact as well as in reputation," the GUANGMING DAILY reported today. Speaking at a recent meeting here on higher education reform, Professor Wang Xuan said the university must train and recruit associate and full professors in their thirties or risk slipping in quality, according to the paper. "Older faculty members should promote talented young people and stop holding them back," he said. Also at the meeting, Li Yining, a professor in Beijing University's Economics Department, called for a change in China's system of full-time graduate study. "Some graduate students should be permitted to study parttime while gaining parttime work experience," he said. "We should also initiate on-the-job training." Li also criticized the country's system of admission by examination only. "People begin concentrating on the subject on the tests years in advance, downplaying their other studies," he said. "As a result, we get too many students with high scores and low overall abilities." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0827 GMT 4 Nov 86 OW] /12232

CULTURAL EXCHANGES SOUGHT--The PRC Ministry of Culture will make great efforts to develop the study of culture and art in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and will increase cultural exchanges with these areas by increasing contacts with famous writers and artists living there. It has been learned that the Ministry of Culture leadership made this plan in light of the requirements of relevant authorities. In order to ensure smooth development of this work under effective leadership, the Ministry of Culture recently decided that Minister Wang Meng will take charge of building relations with Taiwan, and Vice Minister Gao Zhanxiang will take charge of relations with Hong Kong and Macao. [Special Dispatch from Beijing: "The Ministry of Culture Will Make Great Efforts To Increase Cultural Exchanges With Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan."] [Text] [Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Nov 86 p 2 HK]

## CHEN GUANGYI ON PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK IN RURAL AREAS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Chen Guangyi [7115 0342 3015]: "Party Rectification in Rural Areas Must Ensure and Promote the Reform and the Development of the Economy"]

[Excerpts] Party Rectification in Rural Areas Has To Ensure and Promote the Reform and the Development of the Economy.

This year's party rectification consists, generally speaking, of two tasks: one is concentration of efforts on party rectification at the basic levels; the other is the continued consolidation and development of party rectification at units of county or higher level. Crucial to the accomplishment of these two tasks is the existence of a clear and definite guiding ideology. What is the guiding ideology in our party rectification? The "Circular" of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation and the leading comrades of the Central Committee have expressed it very clearly, namely that the starting point and the points of actual implementation of party rectification must be to guarantee and promote the reform and the development of the economy. Viewed from the standpoint of party rectification in the rural areas of Fujian Province, it means accomplishing the "six beneficial factors:" factors beneficial for the development in depth of the reform in rural areas, beneficial for additional increases in rural productive forces, beneficial for a more intensive invigoration of the rural economy, beneficial for the development of greater productive enthusiasm among the peasants, beneficial in helping continuously poor and sparsely populated areas, border districts, islands, and distressed regions to escape poverty and achieve prosperity, and beneficial for the construction of the "two kinds of civilization" in the rural areas. The first four factors listed above are demands put forward by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation in their Circular No 13, the latter two factors are supplemental demands put forward in view of the actual conditions in Fujian Province. We must gain a more distinct understanding of this guiding ideology, start work in a down-to-earth manner, with the aim of solving our problems, of promoting the opening up of the country, and of promoting the reform and the development of the economy.

First of all, what are the problems which party rectification in the rural areas will solve? Based on the spirit of the Central Committee's resolution

on party rectification, party rectification in the rural areas too must accomplish the four tasks of achieving unity in thinking, rectification of work style, strengthening of discipline, and cleansing of the organization.

Expressed in concrete terms, our attention must be directed toward solving the following few problems, with due integration with the realities of the rural areas of Fujian Province:

First, solving the question of having party members setting an example. Through party rectification, the ideological awareness and political quality of the broad masses of party members is to be enhanced, so that they will truly take the lead in rural reform and rural construction, and will play the role of pioneering models in whatever work they are engaged in.

Second, solving the problem of unhealthy tendencies in party work style. It is crucial here to do something about the small number of party members and cadres who seriously misuse their powers of office for personal gain and in a serious manner violate laws and disrupt discipline. Other unhealthy tendencies must also be conscientiously rectified. In the case of party members in general, it is mainly a matter of maintaining positive education and of conscientiously correcting the party's style of work.

Third, solving the problem of building up the basic party organization as well as the leading groups. Through party rectification, we must effectively change the conditions of laxness and paralysis in a part of the basic party organization, effectively build up the leading groups, strengthen the fighting capacity of the basic party organization, and turn them into a strong leadership core in the construction of the "two civilizations" in rural areas.

Fourth, solving some particularly conspicuous problems in the rural areas. Such as improper occupation of land for building houses, mercenary marriages, feudal superstitions, indiscriminate felling of trees and the excessive denuding of forests. In some areas, some of these problems have become almost generally accepted practices, evil as they are, with serious adverse effects on the construction of the "two civilizations." They are practices which must all be ruthlessly eradicated through party rectification.

Party rectification in rural areas is to be done in only 2 or 3 months time, therefore it is necessary to concentrate on the solution of certain problems. It is necessary to persist in starting out from the realities, and seize on whatever problem appears as particularly conspicuous, to be taken in hand as a key task and to be brought to solution. The manner in which the problem is being or is not being conscientiously solved may, furthermore, serve as indicator whether party rectification of the area in question is or is not being effectively carried out.

The More Opened Up and the More Reformed an Area is, the Greater the Need for Strictest Management of Party Affairs

Opening up and reform have a bearing on the future of China; party rectification and correcting the work style of the party are of a life or death significance for our party. Whether it is for the presently ongoing

party rectification and correcting of party work style, or whether it is for the consolidation and further development of achievements already made in past party rectifications, we must, under all circumstances, establish a basic concept, namely the concept that the more opened up and reformed an area is, the greater is its need for the strictest management of party affairs. As Fujian is an opened up province, it is, therefore, particularly necessary to conduct all its affairs in this sense. Through party rectification, the following questions must be clarified:

First, it must be realized that the strictest administration of the party is an objective demand posed by opening up and reform. Opening up and reform promote economic development; that is beyond question. However, opening a window will allow fresh air in, as it will also offer an opportunity for flies and mosquitoes to come in too. Certain things which had vanished from sight in the past, might possibly reappear again. Under the new conditions created by the opening up and reform, some people are taking advantage of the position the ruling party occupies to fish for personal benefits, abusing their powers of office for personal gain, while at the same time improper practices are increasing and spreading, and law violations and crimes are frequent occurrences. If we allow these evil and decadent phenomena to continue, and if we will not administer the party with greatest strictness, they are bound to adversely affect and obstruct the reform, the opening up of the country, and the invigoration of the economy.

Second, we must firmly take hold of the situation with both hands. Managing the party with greatest strictness and vigorously pursuing the matter of party work style together with reform and opening up, these are the two important means needed to carry out the socialist modernization, both supplement and complement each other. On the one hand, we must unswervingly carry out the reform and the opening up of the country; on the other hand, we must correct the work style of the party, strictly enforce party discipline, and strengthen the legal system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly pointed out most emphatically this need to firmly take hold with both hands. We must educate our party members to be aware that opening up the country and invigorating the economy will of necessity introduce certain bad things, which, if not adequately countered, will allow the opening of the country and the invigoration of the economy to be lured away toward evil ways. This is, therefore, a long term task. As long as we shall maintain our policies of opening the country and invigorating the economy, we have to maintain for an equally long time the rectification of unhealthy tendencies and our fight against crimes. This alone will ensure the accurate implementation of our policies of opening the country and invigorating the economy. We must, therefore, not assess at too high a value whatever achievements have been made in the rectification of party work style, but must continue to carry on these efforts. The more there is of opening up and reform, the more is it necessary to persevere in the strictest administration of the party, and the more will it be necessary to direct our attention to the rectification of party work style. We must, on the one hand, promote the enthusiasm for opening up and reform, but on the other hand also promote enthusiasm for a firm grasp on party work style and on party discipline. We must, on the one hand, gain the best of achievements in the opening up of the country and in our reform, but

must also, on the other hand, achieve effective results in the rectification of party work style.

Third, we must overcome a condition of weakness. Rectification of the party means making efforts to solve and dispose of the problems and contradictions within the party. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that presently the main deviation within our party is not that too excessive or too strict action is taken against contradictions with antagonistic character, or even against contradictions that already exercise sharp antagonism, but that there is an insufficient understanding of these contradictions, there is the lack of a clear-cut standpoint, there is a hesitation to take bold assured action. This is what Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out as "weakness." It is necessary to make every effort to overcome this state of weakness by means of party rectification. In the case of party members and cadres who have verifiably committed serious misuses of their powers of office for personal gain, seriously violated law, disturbed discipline, tyrannized the countryside, and incurred the deep hatred of the people, those that deserve to be punished by disciplinary action of the party should be dealt with in this way, those who deserve to be expelled from the party should be so expelled, those who deserve to be refused entry into the party shall be refused registration as party members, and under no circumstances should leniency be shown in these cases. Now, a kind of debased style of work has sprung up in the party, namely giving considerations to personal sensibilities and establishing personal relationships; in the countryside there is even the additional consideration of clan relationships. In the course of the party rectification, a clean sweep must be made of all these unprincipled vulgar practices. We must emphasize truth and not the preservation of "face." We must dare take action against, control, and fight unhealthy trends and evil practices. We must handle all matters impartially, under no circumstances permit overleniency, never shelter evil, and under no conditions allow the corruption of the party's style of work to expand and grow.

Fourth, we must correct the party's style of work and enforce strict discipline. Rectification of the party's style of work is a demand posed to the ruling party by the new situation of opening to the outside world. The logistic support for economic development has to come from out of the reform, and whether the reform can possibly make smooth progress requires as guarantee the party's excellent style of work. Without correct style of work by the party, the reform cannot succeed. Party rectification has to solve many problems, and an important one among these is the problem of the incorrect style of work in the party. Not only is it necessary to solve the problem, but all loopholes must be stopped up, so that none can recur in future. For instance, such problems as improperly occupying land to build houses, taking unlawful possession of collective property, graft and bribery, indiscriminate felling of trees and denuding forests, are problems that must be solved in all earnest. Especially cases of a serious nature which involve party members and cadres who misuse the authority of their offices for private gain as well as serious violations of law and breaches of discipline must be strictly investigated. At the same time, certain typical cases with serious repercussions and very harmful effects should be thoroughly investigated and publicly tried, to set examples.

Fifth, leading cadres should set examples. From the point of view of the party committee leadership, the party must be administered with strictness; as to what is demanded of the party members themselves, it is that they exercise strict self-discipline. Our party members and party-member cadres must be educated to be unswerving in communist theory and conviction, educated that in whatever situations or problems they may find themselves in the course of the reform or the opening to the outside world, to never forget the fundamental tenet of wholeheartedly serving the people, to never abandon the excellent style of work of closely linking up with the masses, and to never relaxing party discipline. We must intensify tempering party members in party spirit, to be able to self-consciously resist the corrosive influences of feudalism and decadent bourgeois ideology, and to maintain forever the progressive character and purity of members of the communist party. Leading organs at all levels must set examples, must self-consciously correct the party's style of work, and by their own exemplary conduct lead the broad masses of party members to bring about a basic turn for the better in the party's style of work.

Sixth, we must tirelessly and over a long period of time maintain our hold on the achievements already attained in party rectification, consolidate them and develop them. Firm control of the party's style of work and of party discipline is a long-term task in the development of the ruling party; the whole task cannot be accomplished in one stroke. In the course of party rectification, correcting the party's style of work must effectively be a major substance of the rectification. After conclusion of party rectification, the consolidation and development of the achievements attained in the party rectification must be firmly taken in hand as an important task. Units which had only perfunctorily performed must again undergo rectification, and where lessons had been missed, such must be made up. Problems that have been left over after party rectification must be firmly taken up and brought to solution; there must be nothing left unsettled. Matters of party rectification at basic levels that have been referred to higher authority must not only be conscientiously dealt with, but inferences must be drawn from them for other cases from each instance, weak links in leadership work must be investigated on own initiative, and further corrections must be made in the guiding ideology of work engaged in, overcoming bureaucracy, improving style of work, and raising work efficiency.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF FACULTY, STAFF CONGRESSES DISCUSSED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Provincial Educational Labor Union: "Full Development of Democracy, Joint Discussion of Matters of Vital Importance in School Administration; 23 Institutions of Higher Learning in Anhui Province Set Up Systems of Educational Staff and Workers' Congresses"]

[Text] Twenty-three institutions of higher learning in Anhui Province have set up systems of educational staff and workers' congresses as a substantial development toward democracy. The system allows the faculty and workers to participate in decisionmaking and also promotes the reform of the schools' administrative system as well as all branches of work.

The system of educational staff and workers' congresses was first introduced in November 1984 on trial in the institutions of higher learning of Anhui Province. There are now altogether 17 regular universities, among them Anhui University, Hefei Industrial University, China Science University, and altogether 6 special teachers training colleges, among them Chuzhou Special Teachers Training College, that have set up educational staff and workers' congresses. They represent 76.6 percent of all the institutions of higher learning throughout the province that should set up such congresses. The congresses at the various schools decide on the topics for discussion, mobilize the masses, and suggest ways and means to handle key affairs at the schools. The delegates conduct themselves as masters, conscientiously examine and discuss the work report of the school president, appraise in their discussions the work of the school, and discuss and draw up detailed developmental plans for the immediate and intermediate future. They propose measures for the reform of the schools' administrative systems and for the reform of the instructional work, scientific research, and logistics work at the schools. They integrate in a very effective way centralized leadership with democratic administration, promoting the progress toward democratization of decision-making and strengthening the directive functions of the administrative system headed by the school president. The Anhui University has twice called meetings of the congress. At the first meeting, when the school's 3-year development plan was passed, the congress delegates had submitted 375 proposals. The presidium of the congress summarized them into 18 large items, submitted them to the school's party committee, who together with the administration and the responsible persons of the congress examined

and discussed the proposals one by one at a joint conference, added opinions, and submitted them to the departments in charge for final decision, providing scientific bases for the implementation of the school development plan and for an in-depth launching of reform. The Hefei Industrial University, on the recommendations of the educational staff and workers congress, established a postgraduate department and an instructional research office. The Anhui Teachers Training University broke through the traditional instructional patterns, improved the curriculum setup, and increased self-study of students and social activity practices.

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## TEMPORARY TRANSFERS OBSTACLE TO ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Kong Lingbang [1313 0109 2831]: "The Practice of Temporarily Transferring Cadres on Loan Must be Stopped"]

[Text] In the course of the organizational reform, certain leading organs reacted to pressures from higher authority by resorting to actions on the principle of "whatever policy is ordered from above, we will counteract it with a counterpolicy of our own," of: if you retrench our staff establishment, we shall increase our contingent of extra-budgetary staff.

The first counterpolicy is to reduce the official staff establishment but effect a shift in the disposition of personnel, so that the old staff will still be retained within the same organ. The second counterpolicy is to obtain, on loan, personnel from subordinated units, especially from schools. Although there is, after all, already a shortage of qualified teachers, and there are explicit orders from higher authorities to the effect that teachers must not be transferred away, departments in charge of certain work will arbitrarily transfer them on loan, designating them as "long-term contract workers" or "temporary workers." Many basic units and schools complain bitterly and endlessly, but to no avail at all.

For those party and government organs which daily complain loudly that they cannot go ahead with their work because of restricted staff establishments, the proper procedure would be to give more thought to measures of strengthening cadre training, raising cadre quality, improving the style of work, and raising efficiency; they must not fix all their attention always on the staff establishment. A large number of people will not necessarily accomplish the task. Overlapping duplication of organs, creating jobs to accommodate persons, shifting responsibilities from one organ to the other, arguing back and forth between organs, will instead lead to an increasingly bureaucratic style of work and reduce the efficiency in state organs.

The relevant departments should ruthlessly put a stop to the unhealthy practices of "temporarily loaning" personnel from basic units or teachers from schools, so that the achievements of the first stage of our organizational reform will be consolidated, so that a relative stability can be guaranteed to our cadres at basic levels, and so that the key jobs in all work will truly be entrusted to the basic levels.

## JIANG ZHUPING CITES 'INTERNAL RESISTANCE' TO ECONOMIC CRIMES

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 86 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] A mobilization rally was held jointly by the provincial people's procuratorate, the party committee of organizations directly under the provincial party committee and the provincial party committee office for striking at economic crimes at the 1 August Auditorium in Nanchang City on the morning of 12 August.

Jiang Zhuping [5592 4376 1627], standing committee member of the provincial party committee and vice governor of Jiangxi, and Wang Shuheng [3769 2885 5899], chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, spoke at the rally.

Wang Shuheng said: Since the beginning of this year, under the direct leadership of the provincial party committee and the supreme people's procuratorate, the prosecutorial organs have closely coordinated with units concerned and waged an all-out war against serious economic crimes in the province, and significant breakthroughs have been achieved in the struggle. From January through June this year, comparing the economic cases investigated and handled by prosecutorial organs in the province with that in the same period last year, the number of cases accepted increased by 85 percent; the number of cases filed increased by 120 percent, of which the number of big and important cases increased by 250 percent; the number of cases closed increased by 370 percent; and the economic loss recovered for the state and collectives increased by 700 percent. The leadership of the provincial party committee paid special attention to cracking down on economic crimes in organizations directly under it. In the first half of the year, 34 cases were filed involving 47 people, including 16 big and important cases and 9 cases involving 9 cadres at and above the county level. New breakthroughs were made in July and August. Almost all major economic cases involve people within the party, cadres, their children, and even leading cadres. Wang Shuheng cited the following examples. Chen Xiaodong, former manager of the provincial agricultural machinery corporation and a cadre who joined the revolution more than 40 years ago, extorted and received bribes together with his son. Xu Jun, former deputy chief of the new technology extension station under the provincial economic commission, engaged in speculation and profiteering, extorted and received bribes, resold motor vehicles for profit in collusion with others, and used his position to resell gasoline and steel material. Zhang Xinghan, former deputy director of the student work department of the Jiangxi institute of traditional Chinese medicine, and another person

pocketed student sholarship funds and money earmarked for prizes to "three-good students" by falsifying student rosters and making fraudulent claims. Xiong Yingen, former cadre of the united front work department of the provincial CYL committee, made huge profits by illegally reselling foreign exchange. Cai Houlian, former engineer of the combined planning department of the provincial science and technology commission, demanded kickbacks from scientific research funds. Wu Shimin, former manager of the provincial state farm and land reclamation import and export corporation, resold foreign exchange and resold imported motor vehicles at high prices. Wang Xiaolang, former cadre of the provincial commodity inspection bureau, engaged in specuation and profiteering and took part in illegal reselling of color television sets. Zhang Xiangnan, former cadre of the provincial economic commission, resold motor vehicles and extorted bribes. In the "cigarette racket" case in Nanchang City, which has drawn much public attention, it has been found our that five criminals, Zhang Jimbao, Zhang Yubao, Xu Guanjun, Zhou Baogen and Yang Hongyan, engaged in illegal reselling at high prices of cigarettes which were in great demand and short supply, and that their illegal dealings amounted to 14 million yuan, plus more than 400,000 yuan in tax evasion. Now, 16 criminals involved in the case have been taken into custody.

Jiang Zhuping said in his speech: At present, the struggle waged by organizations directly under the provincial party committee against economic crimes has only just begun, and the development is still uneven. Some units only pay lip service to the struggle, act slowly and fail to adopt effective measures. Some units take a passive attitude toward this struggle, regard it as opposed to reform and opening to the outside world, and fail to report or investigate cases. Even more seriously, some units are faced with strong internal resistance and interference when investigating and handling cases, and to varying degree the work is hampered by "softness," "shielding," "intercession" and even protection and cover for the guilty. Moreover, it merits attention that even now there are still a very small number of people who are throwing cold water on the struggle, saying that "those now in custody will soon be released," that "the blows are dealt at the reformers," that "it is a factional struggle," and so forth. These words and deeds which confuse black and white are absolutely wrong and impermissible by party and administrative discipline.

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## MEETING OF DISCIPLINE INSPECTION SECRETARIES HELD

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] A provincial meeting of secretaries of prefectural and municipal discipline inspection commissions was held by the provincial discipline inspection commission in Yifeng County from 10 to 13 August. Yan Xianjin [7346 0341 6651], deputy secretary of the provincial discipline inspection commission, relayed the guidelines of the forum on discipline inspection work in the east and central-south regions held by the central discipline inspection commission. Wang Tie [3769 6993], member of the central discipline inspection commission, attended the meeting and made a speech.

The meeting held that owing to the attention paid by party organizations at all levels in the province, the hard work by the vast numbers of party members and the support from the masses of the people, the several serious unhealthy trends pointed out by the central and provincial party committees have been basically checked or brought under control; new breakthroughs have been made in the investigation and handling of the major cases, including cases involving leading cadres and their children and cases which had remained unsolved for a long time; and education in party spirit, party style and party discipline has continued to develop in depth.

The meeting pointed out that the development of the work to rectify the party style is still uneven in the province, as many problems remain unsolved, and the relationship between rectifying the party style and the reforms is still not fully understood; that the results of rectifying the unhealthy tendencies have not yet been consolidated, and the work to rectify the unhealthy trends in some trades and professions has only just begun; and that there is still resistance to the investigation and handling of the big and important cases. Therefore, the task of rectifying the party style remains very arduous, and we must not allow our efforts to slacken.

The meeting called on party committees and discipline inspection commissions at all levels in the province to continue to follow the principle of "determined and sustained effort" and pay attention to the following tasks in the second half of the year: 1) It is necessary to study harder to correctly understand and handle the relationship between rectifying the party style and the reforms and use the idea of correctly handling contradictions within the party to guide discipline inspection work. 2) It is necessary to continue to give full play to

the exemplary role of leading organs and leading cadres in rectifying the party style. 3) It is necessary to pay close attention to the investigation and handling of the big and important cases. 4) While continuing to correct several serious unhealthy trends, it is also necessary to make serious efforts to correct the unhealthy tendencies in certain trades and professions. 5) In conjunction with a review of party consolidation and the ongoing consolidation of rural party organizations, it is necessary to strictly tighten up discipline. The meeting called on discipline inspection departments at all levels to take an active part in the reforms, correct the unhealthy trends in the process and contribute to the smooth progress of reform.

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## BACKWARD VILLAGE PARTY BRANCHES IN JIANGSU CONSOLIDATED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 9 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Shen Zu [3088 4371]]

[Excerpts] Since last winter, work has been going on to consolidate backward village party branches in all parts of the province. By the end of June, the job was basically finished, laying the organizational foundation for party consolidation at the village level and insuring the smooth progress of the second stage rural reform.

Through the consolidation, the quality of leading bodies has improved. Some leading members have made serious efforts to clear up the old ideas in their heads and further emancipated their minds. The unhealthy tendencies in a small number of leading cadres have been corrected somewhat. The problem of disunity among some leading cadres has been solved pretty well. Some incompetent cadres have been reassigned, and a number of outstanding party members who are politically reliable, in the prime of life, full of pioneering spirit and with a fairly high cultural level have been promoted into leading bodies. This has given new vigor and vitality to the backward village party branches whose leading members were too old and poorly educated.

Through the consolidation, various inner-party activities have also been improved. For example, the systems of "three meetings and one class," "party members activity day," management of party members on field trips, responsibility for party style, "party members' ties with nonparty households" and so forth are being implemented step by step. The Longzhuang Village party branch, in Shihu Township, Donghai County, did not have normal activities in the past. After consolidation, it has established and perfected a system of regular activities. Now more than 90 percent of the party members attend regular party activities. And the party members ask for leave before going on trips, attend classes willingly, and pay party membership dues on time.

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## 'FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS' IMPLEMENT MEASURES DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] The organizational department of the provincial party committee recently conscientiously carried out an overall study and analysis of the problem of how to further strengthen the leadership groups in Shandong Province and the buildup of the third echelon; they affirmed certain achievements, sought out disparities, established clear tasks, and drew up appropriate measures.

Through organizational reform, the leadership groups at all levels in Shandong Province have made great progress toward a greater revolutionary character toward lowering the average age of group members, and toward including more knowledgeable and more specialized persons. To better meet the demand for overall reform and attain a completely new situation, it will presently be necessary to continue the effective adjustment of the leading groups in the spirit of "relative stability, partial adjustments, structural perfection, and improvement of quality," with emphasis on the following aspects:

- 1) Accurately carrying out improvements in the composition of leadership groups together with resolute efforts toward reform and effective economic construction. Building up the leadership groups must closely center around economic construction, observance of and service to the four modernizations, combined with total reform, and recognition that our struggle objective is the invigoration of Shandong's economy and the fulfillment of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.
- 2) The policy of the "four cadre transformations" must be completely understood, that is to say appropriate action is necessary to render them more revolutionary, younger in average age, more knowledgeable and more specialized. Responsible comrades of the organizational department of the provincial party committee clearly and definitely pointed out: the policy of the "four cadre transformations" is one unified entity. Rendering them more revolutionary is the precondition and occupies primary position; never must political quality and ideological character be overlooked. Rendering the groups younger in age means having these bodies consist mainly of middle-aged or young persons, creating a reasonable ladder-shaped organization. We must not demand too sweepingly that the lower level must be one grade younger than the higher level, but must allow for alternatives. The demand for more knowledgeable leading groups means that its members must have scientific knowledge, general education, and theoretical training commensurate with the

official duties they have to perform. As to greater specialization, this must not be interpreted too narrowly as being only specialized knowledge acquired in certain scientific disciplines. Persons who are proficient in their trade or profession, who master the rules and specialties of their work and creatively develop the work they are engaged in, must also be regarded as specialized. 3) In examining cadres for employment, it is necessary to go all out in following a mass line, widely accept opinions from the masses, and develop a procedure that bases confirmation or disapproval of a cadre in each case on a full set of supporting evidence. 4) Selection of cadres for employment must accord with the principle of party spirit, and unhealthy tendencies in cadre work must be effectively rectified.

To guarantee an effective composition of leading groups at all levels, it is necessary to do a good job of building up the third echelon, a type of work that is of fundamental importance. Building up the third echelon in Shandong Province during recent years has shown great achievements, but is still somewhat deficient if measured against actual needs, as evidenced in the following: Developments are not well-balanced, a small number of units have developed slowly; there is an insufficient number of reserve cadres, and organization is not altogether rational. Building up the third echelon is not coordinated sufficiently closely with the composition of leading groups, and there is disjunction between available reserves and employment. The training of reserve cadres has not yet been institutionalized; the relationship between implementing training measures and the needs of actual work has not yet been adequately dealt with. A further strengthening of and further improvement in the buildup of the third echelon mainly demands: Increasing numbers, raising quality, control of objectives, coordination between available reserves and employment. Building up our third echelon must more effectively serve economic construction and the composition of leading groups. Work that must now be carried out, and must be done well, should consist of the following: 1) Continued efforts must be made to accurately solve the problem of a proper understanding; it is necessary to fully understand that building up the third echelon is a strategic task of long duration; there must not be the slightest wavering in our resolve. 2) It is necessary to effectively solve the problem of coordinating available reserves and employment. Our aim must be: In the matter of age, cadre reserves for municipalities, prefectures, provincial departments and bureaus must be mainly middle-aged and young cadres of around 40 or 45; where conditions are sufficiently advanced, this may be extended to persons aged around 50. As to the levels for which selections are made, the principle must be upheld to select the better ones, progressively, for ever higher levels; attention must be paid to training and tempering in steps toward upward movement. As to the numbers of cadre reserves, the general principle must be to increase numbers, while, as a precondition, their quality must be ensured. In the matter of cadre organization, it is necessary to start out from the needs for the composition of leading groups. In respect to specialization, general education, ages, and dispositions, there has to be a well-adjusted group structure. In the matter of selecting and training of cadres, it is necessary to gradually implement control of objectives, that is to say that the objectives of their assignments must be clearly explained to all those selected as reserve cadres, and that their training must be directed toward these specific objectives. 3) Our efforts at building up a third echelon

must be unceasingly strengthened and improved. According to the experiences and methods of the past, we must in ~~the future~~ uphold the principle of following the mass line, the principle of ~~selecting~~ the best, and the principle of having the buildup of the institution and the buildup of the cadre contingent promote each other and work to mutual advantage. To have the buildup of our leadership groups and of the third echelon accord even better with the needs of the reform of the economic system, it is necessary to continue the reform of the cadre system, ~~step by step~~ and in a planned manner.

9808  
CSO: 4005/080

## DEPUTIES TO ZHEJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DISCUSS LEGAL SYSTEM

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpt] Deputies attending the 21st session of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress seriously studied and enthusiastically discussed the question of how to uphold the socialist legal system.

The deputies said: In the past few years, a great deal of work has been done to improve the legal system in our province, and cadres and the masses have become increasingly aware of the law. However, failure to act according to law is still a common occurrence, and rather serious problems still exist in a few places. Deputy Liu Junzhi [0491 0193 5347] said: Leading cadres, relying on their special status, still often substitute their words for the law, or trample on the law because they have power. Some leading cadres, accustomed to having the final say, do not respect the decisions and resolutions of organs of state power and put themselves above the law. Deputies Fei Liren [6316 4539 0086], Xu Wanzhen [1776 3979 3791] and others said: On the matter of personnel appointments and removals, some have taken office and made it public without being elected or appointed by the people's congress, and some who were elected or appointed by the people's congress have been transferred at will, at the cost of the sanctity of the law. Many deputies and responsible comrades of standing committees of municipal people's congresses present as observers pointed out: Of the township (town) heads elected by the new people's congresses in 1984, a considerable number have already been transferred elsewhere. Some were transferred within a month of their election. Some township heads have been transferred to three different townships in 2 years. The people's representatives objected strongly to this practice, saying: "A hundred ballots cast by us are not as good as a single transfer order from a higher level." The deputies pointed out that this state of affairs must be brought to the attention of the leadership at various levels, and resolute action must be taken to correct the situation.

12802/12951  
CSO: 4005/041

## BRIEFS

LU XUN ANNIVERSARY NOTED--Shanghai, 14 Oct (XINHUA)--People should follow the example of Lu Xun (1881-1936), China's greatest revolutionary writer, in using Marxist methodology to understand and transform society. Rui Xingwen, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, said this to a meeting marking the 50th anniversary of Lu Xun's death, adding, "today, we should also carry on his spirit of reform to criticize feudalism and corrupt bourgeois ideas." He asked local writers and residents to draw on Lu Xun's spirit of "making foreign things serve our needs" to make the policy of opening to the outside world a success, and also his spirit of combining firm ideals with actual reforms. Addressing today's meeting, Zhou Haiying, Lu Xun's son, said, "some people are still remembered today even though they died decades or even hundreds of years ago, because what they spoke and did during their life represented the people's will. My father said his essays and writings would vanish just like his life," Zhou said, "but even to this very day his essays and writings are still timely and needed by people." [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1555 GMT 14 Oct 86 OW] Hangzhou, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--The 50th anniversary of the death of Lu Xun, China's cultural giant, is being marked in his native town, Shaoxing, in Zhejiang Province. Lu Xun was born in 1881, and died on 19 October, 1936 in Shanghai. He was leader of China's proletarian literary movement, known as a revolutionary thinker and for his criticism of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial old society. An academic society devoted to research of the writer has been set up. The society's "Lu Xun prize" was awarded to 70 artists for the first time this month. Meanwhile, a seminar has been planned between 15 and 17 October, at which young scholars will present 40 papers on related topics. A mass meeting will be held on 18 October, and the same day will see the opening of an exhibition displaying calligraphic works with Lu Xun as the theme and various editions of his works. Movies adapted from his novels will also be shown. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 29 Sep 86 OW] /9738

ADMINISTRATIVE INEFFICIENCY DISCUSSED--The problems of style and efficiency in the work of government organs, which is so much being discussed nowadays, received great attention at the provincewide working conference of secretaries in government organs convened at Nanjing. Why is efficiency low? It is mainly due to the following conditions: First, due to the frequent wrangling back and forth over trifles that is taking place; second, due to fear of assuming responsibilities at the top, and even more so at the lower levels, so that no one will dare take responsible action; third, due to the excessive links of transmission and of checkpoints to be passed, so that documents go back and forth with much waste of time; fourth, due to the difficulty of

entering the right doors, meeting up with the persons in charge, gaining a hearing, and getting things done; fifth, due to the inadequacy and inaccuracy of information. The slow tempo of work performance and its low efficiency is causing considerable waste in the affairs of the state and is constituting a great obstacle to reforms, to the opening up of the country, to the invigoration of the economy, and to the development of the commodity economy. The masses are greatly displeased with this state of affairs, cadres in government organs have also become disheartened; all urgently demand that these obstacles be eliminated as soon as possible. [Excerpts] [Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 86 p 1] 9808

CSO: 4005/080

**FORUM TO DISCUSS POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM HELD**

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 29 July 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] Yesterday 28 July, the editorial department of this newspaper held a forum in which a number of the province's and city's theoreticians and practitioners were invited to take up the issue of political structural reform.

The comrades attending the forum were of the unanimous belief that while the current economic structural reform continues to be put into effect, a corresponding political structural reform must also be implemented. This is not only the clear direction given to us by Marxist theory but also a requirement levied upon us by practice. Economics and politics, the forces and relations of production, the economic base and the superstructure--all represent a unity of opposites. The task of the economic structural reform is to improve and perfect the various features and links in production relations which are not suited for expanding the forces of production, and to liberate and develop the forces of production. Therefore, its continuous implementation will inevitably result in production relations and a superstructure which contain features of the political structural reform. Over the past few years, the process of carrying out economic structural reform has in fact also served to start the political structural reform, the two of them being mutually coordinated and alternately implemented. However, the pace of the political structural reform has been relatively slow, and hence is unsuited for the development and requirements of the economic structural reform. The issue at hand is to take the problems of political structural reform from the realm of guiding ideology and actual work and place them on the daily agenda, accelerate the pace of this reform, and promote the full development of the economic structural reform.

The comrades attending the forum pointed out that one concept needs to be made clear here: political structural reform means the self-improvement of China's socialist system. It encompasses such issues as the regulation of power between the party and government, the establishment of administrative organizations to meet the requirements for developing a socialist commodity economy, and the transformation of the functional role of government. It does not point to a reform of China's socialist system. With regard to the limits of this principle, we must never produce any confusion on an ideological level.

In addition, the comrades attending the forum emphatically related their own views and personal experiences centering on the work to implement political structural reform. Everyone was of the unanimous belief that at present, an effort must first be put forth to solve the problems concerning the lack of separation between party and government, the lack of separation between government and enterprises, and excessive concentrations of power. These corrupt practices are a main feature of the current political structure. Due to the lack of separation between party and government and enterprises, bureaucratic red tape which is redundant and contradictory frequently appears within the party and government, thus tying the hands of business and impeding the development of economic work. There are some departments which have retained their enterprise authority and have even recaptured the enterprise authority they had already delegated, which intervene in the production and management activities of enterprises. To this end, enterprises have poured out endless grievances, complaining that "now the 'old mother-in-law' has been exchanged for a 'young mother-in-law.'" The comrades believe that these phenomena are obvious reflections of the corrupt practices of the political administration system which came about as a result of the high concentration of state power in the decisions made under the single-product planned economic structure. This runs contrary to the economic structural reform targets which seek to streamline government and delegate authority, invigorate business, and promote economic development. Therefore, we must make a conscious effort to separate the duties and responsibilities of the party and government and of the government and enterprises so that each attends to his own duties and each is used in his own capacity, and subsequently we must establish a socialist political structure which is highly democratized, highly efficient, and replete with a legal system. Party organizations should primarily emphasize ideological and political work and the building of a spiritual civilization, while playing a supervisory and protective role in governmental work; government departments should primarily concentrate on macro-level work such as program management and planning coordination, and not directly intervene or participate in the production management activities of enterprises. In order to realize this kind of objective, the long-established method of using value indexes to rate the performance of local governments still needs to be revised. In the past, the use of value indexes to rate the official performance of local government departments frequently forced government departments to intervene in the daily production management activities of enterprises. This is also a primary cause of the lack of separation between the party and government and between government and enterprises. Hereafter, local governments should primarily be rated according to the following principal standards: whether or not they can form and maintain in their respective areas of jurisdiction a favorable environment for economic and political development and civilization building, and whether or not they can play a planning, coordinatin, service, and supervisory role in the administration of economic work. Only then can the state of affairs marked by the lack of separation between the party and government and between government and enterprises be overcome and resolved with relative effectiveness.

We must streamline the administrative structure, reduce personnel levels, and improve efficiency. The comrades attending the forum believe that

at present, the administrative structure keeps growing, the personnel staff is getting too fat to move, the phenomena of friction and wrangling continue unabated, and the efficiency of work has reached its nadir. This is just another example of the corrupt practices associated with the political mechanisms currently in effect. This type of phenomenon is a direct reflection of how the administrative departments currently in place have not altered their functions. In the past, government departments supervised enterprises primarily through the use of administrative methods, but these grew to be so numerous that the administrative departments became like forests and the administrative personnel grew into an army. As a result, not only was it impossible to organize and direct production keenly and effectively, but the objective relations of the economy were artificially severed, and the organization of economic activities in accordance with economic laws was hindered. Therefore, the streamlining of government and the reduction in personnel are quite natural. The problem now is that streamlining government and reducing personnel are difficult, and opposition remains great. In order to accomplish this work smoothly, the reform of the labor personnel system must gain ground and be implemented hand in glove.

We must reform the cadre system and improve the quality of cadres. The comrades attending the forum also believe that reform of the cadre structure and improvement in the quality of cadres are important parts of the political structural reform. Through the efforts to restructure the economy over the past few years, the reform of the cadre system has achieved obvious successes, but from an overall point of view, it is still quite far from meeting the requirements of economic structural reform. This is chiefly due to the continued existence of varying degrees of bureaucracy and outmoded ideologies, ideas, and methods which are unsuitable for a socialist commodity economy. Therefore, we must rid the system of its special privileges for cadres, improve the democratic process for selecting, supervising, and recalling cadres, put into effect a cadre tenure system, election system, rotation system, and vacancy advertisement system, and gradually reduce the scope of the appointment system. Moreover, in order to accomplish these things, we must further develop socialist democracy, establish and improve the socialist legal system, and effectively prevent and eliminate the phenomena of power taking the place of law and people taking the place of law.

The comrades invited to attend the forum included: Zhang Shaosen [1728 4801 2773], deputy secretary of the Qionglai County Party Committee; Du Jin [1653 6855], director of the Provincial Academy of Social Sciences, Political Science Research Institute; Ceng Fanzhi [2582 0416 2784] and Jin Zhimin [6855 1807 2404], researchers at the Provincial Academy of Social Sciences; Jiang Mingzheng [5592 2494 2398], director of the Provincial Government Office, Office of Investigative Research; Bai Wei [4101 0251], reporter for the SICHUAN POST AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS JOURNAL; Xia Youzhi [1115 2589 1807], cadre at the Provincial Labor Personnel Department, Office of Planning and Allocation; and Guo Jie [6665 2638], director of the Chengdu City Social Science Institute.

13188/9190  
CSO: 4005/928

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CRACKING DOWN ON CRIME IN SHANXI--Shanxi Province has hit hard at serious criminal activities and achieved great successes in the past 2 months. Between 15 May and 31 July, the masses exposed and provided clues to more than 14,000 criminal offenses of all kinds. More than 16,000 lawbreakers and criminal offenders gave themselves up. Public security, procuratorial and judicial organs cracked more than 14,000 criminal cases. Criminals in custody confessed and provided leads to more than 14,000 criminal cases. Now, the rising crime rate has been checked. The crime rate has actually dropped somewhat. [By Jiao Qingle [3542 1987 2867]] [Excerpt] [Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 27 Aug 86 p 1] 12802

/12951  
CSO: 4005/037

## 'ARTISTRY' OF REFORM FOR SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by reporter Duan Xinqiang [3008 1800 1730]]

[Text] Editorial note: In face of the reform, the individual and the community alike are limited to a certain degree by the "bearing capacity." If the pace is too quick, things turn out contrary to your wishes; paced with a limp, you'll never be there. This review poses an "artistic" proposition of the reform, providing food for thought.

In retrospect, some reformers in Shenyang find the roads they have taken bumpy on several occasions, though not without violent storms and breakers. Confronted with these bumps, the reformers face a different fate. Some enjoy clear sailing; others are investigated almost every day, as if they were dubious cancer patients; and still others manage to get production off the ground but they themselves were downed, ending up in losing their jobs and official titles.

These reformers of three different destinies started from the same point. Where then did the road fork? Many reasons can be found when you get to the bottom of the matter, but you will also find that whether or not the reform can be carried out smoothly bears largely on the ability to view correctly society's bearing capacity for the reform and walk with appropriate strides.

## Too Highbrow To Be Popular Vs Too Lowbrow To Be Popular

In a given space of time, society is limited to a certain extent in its ability to bear reform. To push a reform forward, one must adapt to society's level of durability. When it comes to reforming, mere correct measures are not good enough. They must be acceptable to the majority of the cadres and the masses of staff and workers. Otherwise, too quick a pace, meaning too highbrow to be popular, would retard the progress of the reform. In their restructuring work the Shenyang Sino-Czechoslovakian Friendship Factory not only took into consideration whether they should go ahead but surveyed to what extent people could bear it, paying heed to breaking up the whole into parts and to "resolution action." In so doing, though it looks slow on the surface, actually with minimum resistance the progress is not slow. This factory has undergone a series of reforms in labor, personnel, and wages. The enterprise has never ceased to grow in vitality, and the reformers have obtained a firm foothold.

As transformer factory director Zuo Changlin pointed out, we must look at both sides of society's bearing capacity. Highbrow songs surely find few singers, but lowbrow ones don't find many more either. If the pace of the reform is too fast, people find it hard to accept. If, however, there is no reform, or if the pace is too slow, they won't accept it just the same. The small plant had already floated the wages and taken away the "big nice bowl" but when it came to tidying up the wage system early this year, the leading factory cadres demanded that limits and grades be set on the wage scale, and they promoted the senior staff by a few grades regardless of whether they were hardworking or lazy. That was actually serving from the "big rice bowl" once again. No sooner was the plan announced than the staff and workers burst into an uproar, and their work efficiency dropped. In view of that, the factory had to widen the bonus differences to alleviate the problem arising from the wage adjustment and to stabilize the workers' emotions. The moral of the story is that it is not true the slower the pace the better the result.

#### Leadership's Opinion Vs Masses' Views

In the midst of reform, leading cadres holding different opinions, are often heard saying: "With changes like that, the masses just can't accept it." It needs a concrete analysis to find out who cannot accept it--the masses or the leadership itself?

Not long ago, some departments in Shenyang, in the light of the existing relations between the party and the management in the enterprise, put forward such proposed measures as setting up factory director position with complete authority, restraining the party committee from meddling with the appointments and removals of mid-level administrative cadres or production and management policies, and streamlining the political work organs. Some party committee secretaries apparently could not straighten out their thinking and they cooked up the excuse that "the masses can't put up with it" and will refuse to reform. Who on earth could not stand it? A metallurgy company conducted a public opinion poll in a number of factories where the staff and workers were allowed to respond anonymously. The findings from these units were basically identical. Take for instance the statistical data derived from Shenyang Light Gauge Sheet Factory. The objects of their survey were 25 each of the workers, the administrative cadres, the political work cadres, and the science and technology cadres. Among the 100 interviewees, 98 voted for and 2 against, having 1 factory director with complete authority. About the issue of restraining the party committee from meddling with the appointment and removal of mid-level administrative cadres, 93 voted for, 6 against, and 1 abstained. About stopping the party committee from interfering with production and management policies, 75 voted for, 23 against, and 2 abstained. Ninety-one voted for streamlining the enterprise's political work organ, one voted for abolishing it, seven for keeping the status quo, and one for enlarging the existing establishment. As the facts have proved, when it comes to practicing the factory director responsibility system, it is not the masses who cannot bear it but the leading cadres who are in the minority. It looks as if when opposition arises, the decision makers should not take the wind for the rain and readily believe the minority's so-called "views of the masses."

### Bearing Capacity Vs Conceptual Change

"Society can gradually strengthen its bearing capacity for the reform." The Northeast Pharmaceutical Factory director Zhao Feng drew that conclusion from their practice. They have taken four steps in restructuring their distribution system. First, all rewards but no punishments: they started with rewarding the hardworking but not punishing the lazy. Second, both punishments and rewards: not only are the hardworking rewarded, but the lazy are punished. Third, heavy rewards and heavy punishments: the rewards made some jealous while the punishments gave them a shock. Fourth, floating wages. The Pharmaceutical Factory deepened its reform in every step they took with continued strengthening of the masses' psychological bearing capacity. Thus one law is reflected: society's bearing capacity for the reform is not immutable. Just because no condition for reform exists at the moment does not necessarily mean that is a restricted zone for reform.

How can we strengthen society's bearing capacity for reform? Shenyang Electric Cable Factory director Xu Youpan has a keen understanding following an in-depth "blast" he engineered in the traditional ideas. There was a technical cadre with outstanding merits and dynamic ideas, boldly innovative, but not without obvious mistakes. He had ~~had~~ an affair with a member of the opposite sex. Yu Youpan had on several occasions intended to promote to a high position this technical cadre with glaring ~~merits~~ and defects, but he was voted down by the majority of the cadres. The reason ~~was~~ the old idea causing all the trouble. Thus his brisk ideas were deemed to be arrogant and conceited, his daring innovation regarded as seeking the limelight, and his attitude toward the opposite sex overemphasized. Confronted with traditional ideas, this factory leader remained undaunted, and the technical cadre was placed in a vital position. He managed to trial-produce a steel-reinforced stranded-lead conductor, which not only came up to international standards but won a gold medal in the nationwide public quality appraisal. As these facts show, in-depth blasts on old ideas are crucial links to fostering the bearing capacity for society.

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CSO: 4005/24

## CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIME DEFINED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 86 p 4

[Article by Li Gongguo [2621 0501 0948]: "Protect Reform, Severely Punish Serious Economic Criminal Offenders"]

[Text] At present a small number of lawless elements are taking advantage of the reform by using all sorts of methods to engage in serious economic crime activities. The obvious symptoms in this are: cases involving corruption, bribery, and the use of financial contracts to commit fraud are relatively numerous; the number of large cases, and especially those which involve connections between internal and external elements, has increased markedly; some state organs, social groups, collective organizations, and enterprise units have had a hand in covering up the relatively large proportion of economic crimes; and with state-run or collective units as the target and the theft of public property as the objective, fraudulent activities are quite rampant. In our province, some economic crime elements parade under the banner of "invigorating the domestic economy" and, acting in the capacity of a "legal person" or some other civil entity, utilize the legal form of the contract whereby the means of production or commodities in great demand such as steel, aluminium, lumber, polystyrene, asphalt, and urea are used as bait to steal large quantities of goods and cash deposits. The total cash value of these contract bids often reaches several thousand yuan, and can go as high as several million yuan. Some economic crime elements act as intermediaries in the sale and purchase of contracted projects and resort to bribery in the process; some are involved in graft, embezzlement, or the use of cash payments to pursue private ends; some engage in smuggling and black marketing, and speculation and profiteering; and still others wantonly steal communications gear and products from factories, construction sites, and oil fields. Although these serious economic crime activities have been attacked relentlessly, an air of swollen arrogance continues to exist as serious economic offenders remain at large, having yet to undergo the due process of the law.

Serious economic crime activities are extremely destructive to the reform and to the policy of opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy. They are poisonous to the party's work spirit and to the general mood of society and are harmful to the cause of building socialism, which should merit our utmost concern and vigilance. We must be mindful to

research and understand the conditions, methods, characteristics, and laws surrounding current serious economic crime activities, become familiar with the long-term and complex nature of the struggle against serious economic crimes, and through the use of positive and effective measures, deflate in the short term the swollen arrogance of serious economic offenders. Those who use contracts to steal massive amounts of payments or credits and then engage in speculative and profiteering activities should be punished for both the crime of fraud and the crime of speculation and profiteering and, in accordance with the law, can be assessed either a cash fine or a property garnishment. All those who sign contracts which contain provisions for speculation and profiteering of a serious nature should be punished for the crime of speculation and profiteering. Crimes which entail all sorts of corruption and bribery, as well the embezzlement of private savings by bank and credit cooperative workers for their own personal use, or their use of credits to pursue private ends should be punished severely. We should take comprehensive measures against, be on the lookout for, and crack down on the gold smuggling activities of a small number of lawless elements associated with our province's massive gold-mining efforts, and the criminal activities of denuding forests to steal timber and the theft of construction materials, equipment, and products from mining enterprises. In particular, we must strongly emphasize the investigation and handling of large and serious cases and uphold the principle of "all people are equal in the face of the law," regardless of who that person may be. Those who must determine and affix responsibility for a crime in accordance with the law must do so in no uncertain terms. State workers who engage in economic crime activities should be severely punished in accordance with the law; we cannot allow administrative admonishments or the imposition of fines to take the place of penal sentences. If a crime warrants a heavy sentence, then a heavy sentence must be imposed in accordance with the law.

It should also be noted that to a great extent, the reason some current serious economic crime activities have been able to prevail is because state workers who hold important posts have been negligent in their duties. At some units and construction sites and warehouses, management is chaotic, and discipline is slack, which allows thieves to succeed repeatedly without being detected. Some units do not operate in accordance with the system, fail miserably in carrying out their responsibilities, and blindly sign financial contracts involving huge sums of money or engage in other important economic activities, which cause public property and the people's interests to suffer major losses. The persons directly responsible for this should be punished for the crime of dereliction of duty. Although China's criminal law provisions do not affix responsibility for a crime to legal persons, those who commit crimes against the party, the government, military organs, social groups, collective organizations, and enterprise units should be held increasingly responsible. Not only should responsibility for a crime be affixed to the perpetrator, but those directly involved in its planning, organization, and direction should be held criminally responsible. Even though they did not "line their pockets with someone else's money," they cannot escape bearing the legal consequences due them.

The severe punishment of serious economic crimes is being carried out under the historical conditions of the reform and of the opening up to the outside and invigorating the domestic economy. We must both crack down on economic crime and protect the reform and the spirit which embodies it. We must correctly handle the relationship between cracking down on economic crime and protecting the just application of the law. The systems for commodity circulation, material management, and price administration are all being reformed. Lateral economic integration is rapidly expanding. This process is bound continuously to break up past patterns of economic livelihood. Things that were not allowed in the past and even those that were considered to be illegal have now become legal. Therefore, we must soberly face the new conditions surrounding economic livelihood, desist from rigidly adhering to the old systems which impede reforms, and correctly understand and grasp the limits of the Central Committee's relevant policies. In order to protect the activism of the cadres and the masses, we must be extremely careful to distinguish clearly between errors in the reform process which result from imperfect rules and regulations, imperfect procedures, and a lack of practical experience, or from discrepancies which result from development and exploration and from the exploitation of loopholes in the reform for the purpose of conducting economic criminal activities.

In handling specific cases, we must strictly abide by the penal law provisions and clearly draw the boundaries between what is criminal and what is not. On the basis of understanding these essential points, we must concretely analyze both the key conditions which contribute to crime and distinguish between those types of contracts which are invalid, actions which violate a contract, and unhealthy tendencies, and the use of contracts to commit economic crimes; distinguish between breakthroughs in industrial limitations, free buying and selling, negotiated price sales, and "laissez-faire style" management, and the illegal buying up of goods for which there is a state market of purchases and commodities in great demand for resale in order to reap exorbitant profits; distinguish between introductory information and viable links, and mediation to reap exorbitant profits and acts of bribery which entail the pocketing of enormous amounts in sales commissions; distinguish between civil liabilities and fraud; and distinguish between those fiscal measures in a contract which are irregular or normal cost overruns in contract work, and corruption. When making these distinctions, we must consider the following: on the basis of subjective circumstances, we must consider the intentions of the players and whether they pursue exorbitant profits by legal means or unlawfully embezzled and absconded with public property; from the nature of their actions, we must consider whether the profits they reaped went toward payment of necessary labor costs; from the legality of their actions, we must consider whether they abided by the provisions of the law and the spirit of policy; and from the consequences of their actions, we must consider whether they were harmful to society. So long as the crux of the matter is understood and a concrete analysis is performed on the basis of separating truth from facts, the limits can be clearly drawn and correctly handled. It is imperative that we accomplish the following: do not indulge the criminal, and do not wrong the innocent person; severely punish serious economic crimes, and do not harm participation in the reform and the legal process.

## CALL FOR POLITICAL REFORM TO ACCOMPANY ECONOMIC REFORM

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Guang [1728 0342]: "There Must Also Be Political Reform"]

[Text] Economic reform must have political reform to lead the way, to back it up, and to safeguard it. Otherwise, economic reform will not be able to succeed, and even if temporary successes are achieved, it can ultimately fail.

China has achieved great successes in economic reform over the past few years. This is due to the fact that since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, political reform was implemented first in order to provide a reliable guarantee for the economic reform.

However, in its initial period, the political reform to a great extent resorted to traditional proven institutions to bring order of chaos. Although there were also some new features, they were not numerous. If economic reform is to continue to progress, sole reliance upon the restoration of traditions is totally insufficient, for politics must be reformed anew.

In order to carry out political reform, new ideas must first be brought out in theory, new concepts must be used in place of old concepts, and Marxism-Leninism must be courageously developed. All practitioners should now be encouraged to take part in the task of developing Marxism-Leninism. Young practitioners in particular must be incited to bring forth new ideas in this area courageously. Responsible comrades of the CPC Central Committee have pointed out that the current political environment should be relaxed even more. This is to allow for the emergence of new ideas, to permit people to speak out bravely on things never before mentioned, to allow for penetration into the forbidden zone, and to prevent antiquated ideas from confining the people. In fact, Marx primarily criticized capitalism and did not directly expound on ways of achieving socialism. The time Lenin spent dwelling on socialism was also very short, and he never advanced a complete program either. If we do not act now to bring forth new ideas, Marxism-Leninism will be unable to move forward.

When Marx and Engels were advancing their new ideas, they were still very young. At the time, people viewed them with contempt and regarded their

theories as heresy. But because what they spoke of was true, their theories were ultimately accepted by advanced peoples who turned them into powerful weapons of revolution. The period Marx lived in was an autocratic era. They endured innumerable hardships for the sake of founding new theories. Today we live in a socialist period. Since the 3d plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, an appeal for reform and for fresh ideas has continued. Recently, emphasis has once again been placed on the need to relax and bring harmony to the political climate, and to carry out earnestly the policy of letting 100 flowers blossom and 100 schools of thought contend. In the event of a favorable prospect like this, Marxism-Leninism will certainly develop widely.

Ideology must be relaxed, and practice must also be relaxed. This is to provide for an opportunity to test new ideologies and new concepts in practice. As for the new things born of the recent relaxation in practice, do not arbitrarily dismiss them, but let practice serve as the test. The reform China carried out in the countryside allowed for land to be distributed amongst individual households, did away with the people's communes, and finally developed into the family contract system of responsibility. Although there were quite a few people who at the time disagreed with this policy, the CPC Central Committee remained very flexible on this issue and allowed practice to render proof. Therefore, the rural reform finally achieved monumental successes.

The urban reform which we are presently carrying out also must have a string of new theories to guide it along; the old must be destroyed and the new established. We must still seek to carry forward the rural reform, liberate the majority of 800 million peasants from a simple agricultural economy, and produce new theories. Therefore, political reform is a matter of top priority. Of course, the theoretical aspect is not the only problem affecting political reform; there is also the category of the superstructure, and especially such systemic problems as changes in the concentration of power, the lack of separation between the party and the government, overstaffed organizations, the serious phenomenon of bureaucracies, and so forth. So long as we are courageous in supporting the political reform, permit the people to speak, advance new theses, and do not indiscriminately assign labels, new theories, reforms, and methods will all appear, all difficulties will be surmounted, and our undertaking will advance significantly.

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CSO: 4005/928

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### AIR FORCE USES SIMULATORS IN COMBAT EXERCISE

OW290540 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1125 GMT 28 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 October (XINHUA)--Feature by XINHUA reporters Sun Maoqing and Zhu Hao: New Battle in the Blue Sky--on a Laser and Electronic Simulated Air Combat Exercise.

On 28 October, it was a sunny early winter's day at a certain place in North China. Following the firing of three green signal flares, an unique air-to-air and air-to-ground combat exercise began,

Participating were more than 10 types of aircraft, including fighters, strike planes, bombers, and armed helicopters; and 7 service arms, including aviation, antiaircraft artillery, surface-to-air missiles, and airborne units. A red and a blue force, deployed both in the air and on the ground, conducted air reconnaissance, air defense reconnaissance, air superiority, air-raid, antiair-raid, airborne and antiairborne exercises which were realistic but did not use ammunition.

As aircraft of the red and blue forces were contending for control of the air, a high-speed fighter streaked down from the sky to the right of the viewing stand. These fighters were equipped with air combat simulators, either infrared electronic or laser firing simulators. The fighters from the two opposing forces were engaging each other in a dogfight, the Blue Force having the initiative while the Red Force was in a passive position. Suddenly, an aircraft was apparently hit, showing a long colored smoke trail from under its wing. Over the loudspeaker alongside the viewing stand, an announcer explained the situation: The attacking plane shoots a laser beam, which does not cause real damage. When it hits the target, the microcomputer on the attacking plane automatically records the major parameters of firing accuracy and transmits the data to a ground indicator. The reception device in the targeted plane automatically sends out a signal to generate colored smoke, disable the weapons system, and cause the plane to lose its fighting power.

Then, the Red Force air raid on the Blue Force airfield and other targets versus the Blue Force's air defense began. Group after group of attacking planes, known as "sky dynamiters," flew over at low altitude. Shells and rockets hit ground targets. Wave after wave of bombers also attacked ground targets. Smoke billowed over the Blue Force's airfield, oil tanks, and important bridges. The Red Force aircraft were equipped with electronic laser

bombing and firing simulators. They were actually attacking with radio pulse signals and laser beams, not bombs or rockets.

The air-ground battle was thrilling. The Blue Force's ground artillery opened fire at the dive-bombing planes, causing loud explosions and intense flames. A Red Force attacking plane was hit, its tail sending out yellow smoke. The Blue Force's surface-to-air missile also hit a Red Force's bomber which, issuing a trail of colored smoke, had to quit the exercise zone. All the air-to-ground and ground-to-air attacks were made by simulators.

Wang Hai, commander of the Air Force, told reporters that the leading comrades of the Central Military Commission have emphasized the efforts to develop simulators as the only way to modernize Air Force training.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NANJING COMMANDER ATTENDS FESTIVAL--Yesterday afternoon units of three armed services stationed in Nanjing sponsored a song festival at the stadium of the Nanjing Military Region's Political Department to mark the 50th victory anniversary of Red Army's Long March. Nie Fengzhi; Du Ping; members of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC Central Committee; Zhan Danan, member of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the CPC Central Committee; (Long Tian), member of the CPPCC; Xiang Shouzhi, commander of the Nanjing Military Region; Fu Kuiqing, political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region; and demobilized army veterans in Nanjing sang with feeling and without inhibition the songs: The March Song of the People's Liberation Army and Three Main Rules of Conduct and Eight Points for Attention under the direction of noted composer (Shen Yawei). The song festival was filled with a mood of unity and combativeness. Yu Yongbo, director of the Political Department of the Nanjing Military Region, spoke at the song festival. He said: Despite extremely harsh conditions during the Red Army period, song-singing activities were very prevalent in the Army during that period. Where there were Red Army units, there was the sound of music. [Excerpt] [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Oct 86 OW] /12913

CADRES SOLVE GRASS-ROOTS PROBLEMS--Leading cadres at and above the division level in the Chengdu Military Region have gone down to companies to grasp grass-roots construction, achieving good results. From January to the end of August this year, about 97.2 percent of incumbent cadres at and above the division level had gone down to the grass roots to help solve problems there. On average, each cadre spent over 66 days in the grass roots. Fu Quanyou, commander of the military region, and Wan Haifeng, political commissar of the military region, spent this year's New Year's day, Spring Festival holidays, and the 1 August Army Day together with soldiers in companies. In the first quarter alone, the administrative organs of the military region organized and dispatched 233 persons of 72 work teams to the grass-roots. Over 10 large meetings scheduled were either cancelled or held in the grass-roots. From May to June, the political department of the military region organized special persons to conduct investigation of nearly 100 companies and help solve problems of unity between grass-roots officers and soldiers in their cultural life and daily necessities. [Text] [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Sep 86 HK] /12913

CSO: 4005/124

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

WARNING AGAINST U.S.-JAPANESE MILITARY ALLIANCE

OW030117 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 29 Oct 86

[Text] A popular fold adage among the masses says it well: Listen to what a person says and watch what he does, meaning judge people by their deeds, not just their words. This saying is most useful in gauging the real aims of the current military and political leaders of the United States and Japan.

In recent years, it has been frequently observed that the more a U.S. president and his defense secretary or a Japanese prime minister and his Defense Agency chief talked about friendship with China, the larger the scale of military cooperation between these two nations became.

During his visit to China several years ago, former U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown talked a great deal about his wish to expand and strengthen U.S.-Chinese global strategic relations. He said that the United States and China have identical strategic viewpoints and interest on many issues, and stressed that global strategic relations between the United States and China would expand and strengthen, and so on and so forth.

Since then, U.S. military and political VIP's have visited China dozens of times. What they talked about during each of their visits was not much different from what Brown had said. However, their deeds have run counter to their words.

Since 1983, when the United States holds joint military exercises with South Korea and Japan in waters adjacent to China's territorial seas, the United States always assembles a massive land, sea, and air force from the continental United States and the Pacific region, as well as great quantities of modern weapons to carry out a three-dimensional offensive combat exercise.

In this regard, we cannot but pay attention to the intentions of Japan. During the visit of Yang Dezhi, chief of the PLA General Staff, to Japan, Prime Minister Nakasone, Defense Agency Chief Kato, and Hiroshi Morishige, chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the Japanese Self-Defense forces, all expressed their wish to promote exchanges and cooperation between the armed forces of China and Japan. However, the fact is that, currently, Japan is strengthening military relations and cooperation with only the United States. What is more, the so-called "citizens' self-defense force" of Japan has become an important component part of the United States' global strategy. The

director general of the Japanese Defense Agency has openly declared that Japan will turn itself from an economic power into a military one in the near future to shoulder the heavy responsibility of safeguarding the security of the Asian-Pacific region and the Free World.

Therefore, after the successful launch of Japan's H-1 rocket, VIP's in the Japanese Government have spared no effort in advocating a qualitative advance in the equipment and combat effectiveness of the three arms of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces.

Another issue meriting our attention is that the U.S. Strategic and International Research Center regards Taiwan, South Korea, South Africa, and Israel as four strategic assets for the United States. At present, the Japanese militarists are trying to take over these assets by way of Japan's special relations with the United States.

All this dictates that we heighten our vigilance against U.S. imperialism and its military ally, Japan. As the saying goes, "Judge people by their deeds, not just by their words."

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BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

BRIEFS

U.S. WARSHIP VISIT CRITICIZED--On the U.S. warships' friendly courtesy port call to Qingdao, people cannot help asking a question: Can the U.S. imperialist fleet really become a friend of our country and our armed forces? Since as early as the 19th and early 20th centuries, U.S. piratical acts of aggression against our country have been on historical record. Although those acts were events of many years ago, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive nature has not changed. They are still resorting to all sorts of schemes and intrigues against our country, and are wantonly interfering with our internal affairs in an attempt to split our country permanently. The U.S. 7th Fleet has orders to take necessary measures to protect Taiwan's security should any crisis arise in the Taiwan Strait. This shows that the U.S. imperialist fleet was a vicious force, hostile to our country, and it still is. We should never regard it as a friend of our country and our armed forces. [Excerpts]  
[(Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1215 GMT 5 Nov 86 OW] /12913

CSO: 4005/149

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

NANJING RADIO STATION--Nanjing, 30 September (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--The "Voice of Jinling," a new radio station catering to Taiwan compatriots, will start broadcasting from 12 November, the 120th anniversary of the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Around 100 personages from Jiangsu and the neighboring provinces and cities gathered in Nanjing to discuss matters concerning the start of the station's operations. It has been reported that the "Voice of Jinling" will give Taiwan compatriots accounts of economic and cultural building and social life in Jiangsu and the neighboring provinces and cities, broadcast Taiwan people's strong yearnings for their relatives, and express the views of various circles on reunification of the motherland. Customs and anecdotes from various localities, the secrets of good health, and ways to make money will also be covered by the station. Station programs include "Hometown and Kinfolk," "Across East China," "Descendants of the Dragon," and "Relatives' Mailbox." [Text] [Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1537 GMT 30 Sep 86 HK] /12913

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